

10^d THE *Scotlan* *Vol 3*
RISE and PROGRESS
OF THE
REBELLION
IN
SCOTLAND,
AGAINST
King CHARLES the First.

Faithfully Collected from the best
ACCOUNTS, and proper to be
known at this TIME.

SHEWING

How Formidable that Insurrection became,
being supported by a Party in *England*;
and how, tho' twice seemingly quell'd,
it broke out again with fatal Consequences.

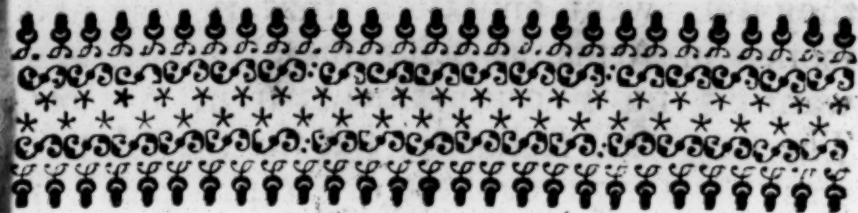
L O N D O N, Printed: And sold by J.

Roberts in *Warwick Lane.* 1719

May.
Price One Shilling.



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T H E
R I S E and P R O G R E S S
O F T H E
R E B E L L I O N
I N
S C O T L A N D ,
A G A I N S T
K i n g C H A R L E S the F i r s t .



ING *Charles* the 1st, Son to
King *James* the 1st, ascended the
Throne of *Great Britain* on the
27th of *March*, 1625. His Reign
began with Uneasiness, and end-
ed in his Murther. His first
English Parliament greeted him with Clamours
of Grievances, and never ceas'd prosecuting
the same, 'till he was brought to his cruel
B End.

End. The Scots began not so soon, but when they did, went on faster, that is, appear'd sooner in Arms, as being more remote, and wanting no Encouragement from *England*. The Cry was, Religion; but the true Motive was, the King's revoking of Grants, pass'd in Prejudice of the Crown, by former Sovereigns, especially during their Minority; for tho' none of the Great Ones, whom it most concern'd, suffer'd by it, yet they dreaded their unjust Possessions might be taken from them; and the better to incense the Multitude, charg'd all the Blame on the Prelates, who had never been concern'd in it. Another Incentive to the Malecontents, was, the King's having pass'd them by, in conferring of Honours and Titles, which he bestow'd on others, whom he thought more deserving. That Religion was but a Pretence to carry on the Insurrection, plainly appears, in that, Episcopacy had been left establish'd in *Scotland*, when King *James I.* came into *England*, and had so continu'd, without the least Opposition, during the rest of his Reign, and several Years of King *Charles I.* In the Reign of the said King *James* also were made the five Articles of the Assembly of *Perth*, by which, the high Commission, the Book of Canons, and other Rites and Ceremonies, were introduc'd and establish'd. King *Charles* only farther endeavour'd to bring in the Book of Common-Prayer, which had been constantly us'd in his own Royal Chappel at *Edinburgh* for 20 Years before, without the least Dislike, signify'd by all that resorted to it. This will plainly appear by

by the following Account of the Proceedings in *Scotland*, which were not very remarkable 'till the King's Journey into that Kingdom, and therefore shall be enter'd upon from that Time.

At the Beginning of the Year 1633, King *Charles I.* took his Progress into *Scotland*, attended by a numerous Train of Nobility and Gentry; and for the better regulating of his said Progress, two Proclamations were publish'd; the one forbidding all Persons who attended the Court, to take up any Lodgings, but as assign'd them in due Order, or to presume to press any Carts or Horses for their Service; and the other to ascertain the Price of all Sorts of Provisions. On the Road, his Majesty was entertain'd by several Persons of Quality, and on the Borders of *Scotland*, receiv'd by many of the Nobility and Gentry, and particularly a Troop of 600, well mounted, in green Sattin Doublets, being Gentlemen, and Dependents on the Earl of *Hughe*; and, on the 15th of *June*, made his Entry into *Edinburgh*, with the Solemnity usual in such Cases, which is here pass'd by, the most of it being outward Shew, without any sincere Intentions, as soon after appear'd. On the 17th, the King went to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and was there entertain'd by the Earl of *Mar*, then Governor thereof.

On the 20th of *June* the Parliament met, and on the 28th, pass'd 31 publick Acts; the 1st and 21st granting his Majesty very considerable Supplies, most whereof was bestow'd among the *Scotch* Nobility; and how grateful

they prov'd for the same, will soon be made out. The 3d and 4th Acts were, *An Act anent his Majesty's Royal Prerogative, and Apparel of Kirk-men*; and *An Act of Ratification of the Acts touching Religion*. These two Acts met with some Opposition; and about 13 Noblemen, and as many Barons and Burgessees, declar'd, That they agreed to the Act for his Majesty's Prerogative, but dissented from that Part of it, as to the Apparel of *Kirk-men*; and these very Men were afterwards the prime Ring-leaders in the Covenant, and the Rebellion which follow'd it. The hottest of them, was the young Lord *Lowdon*, who made a pedantick Speech in the House, with Distinctions and Syllogisms, as if he had been arguing in the School, from whence he was lately come, and where he had taken the Degree of Master of Arts. The other dissenting Lords were, *John Earl of Rothes*, *John Earl of Cassils*, *William Earl of Lothain*, the Lords *Lindsey*, *Porplichin*, *Sinclar*, *Balmerino*, *Cooper*, *Tester*, and four more.

These Lords afterwards encourag'd one *William Hagge*, to publish a scandalous Libel reflecting on his Majesty, for which, the said *Hagge* fled; but the Libel being found up on the Lord *Balmerino*, who ow'd all he enjoy'd, to the King's Goodness, he was try'd by a Court of Peers, for concealing Treason, and condemn'd to lose his Head, and was pardon'd by the King; but what grateful Return he made his Majesty, will be soon seen. One *Thomas Hogge*, who stil'd himself Minister of the Evangel, had presented a Paper of *Presby*
terian

terian Grievances at *Dalkeith*, to the Clerk of the Articles, which the said Clerk had transmitted to the Lords of the Articles, who finding them impertinent and frivolous, had rejected them; so that they were never taken Notice of in Parliament, and accordingly pass'd by here, only with this mention, that it may not be forgotten when those Men began to exert themselves against King *Charles I.* The Rage of these Ministers was against the Bishops, because they would endure no Power over them: But the Nobility, and other Great Men, who had got the Revenues of the ancient Bishopricks into their Hands, ever since *Knox* made the *Geneva-Reformation* there, were afraid of being oblig'd to restore them; and to secure their Estates, sacrilegiously taken from the Church, were the main Promoters of the Rebellion, which was carry'd on under Colour of Religion. A great Aggravation of the Ingratitude of the Nobility of that Kingdom, was, that the Parliament there, having granted his Majesty a Tax of 100000*l.* for four Years to come, the King was pleas'd to bestow that whole Tax among some Great Ones, who never thank'd him for the same; and it was at the same Time grievous to the People. On others he bestow'd Titles and Honours, who, as well as the former, were eagerest in pushing on the Rebellion. Of these Things, a better Account cannot be given, than by an Extract of the King's Historical Narrative of the same, the whole being too long for this Place.

That

That Religion is only pretended and us'd by them, *says his Majesty*, as a Cloak to palliate their intended Rebellion, is demonstrated by this, that the Seeds of this Sedition were sown by the Plotters of their Covenant, made under the Pretence of Religion, long before any of the Grievances, or pretended Innovations in Religion, complain'd of by them, were ever heard of amongst them.

His Majesty goes on to this Effect, That some Years after his coming to the Crown, he had revok'd many Things which had pass'd under his Progenitors in Prejudice of the Crown; at which, some of the principal Contrivers of the Covenant were aggriev'd, knowing much of their Estates to be brought thereby within the Danger of the Law, and therefore begun under-hand to instil into the People a Distaste of the Government. To remove the which, his Majesty had taken Care, that not one of those whom the Revocation expos'd to Danger, should suffer thereby; and yet they had gone on debauching the People under Colour of Religion, casting the Odium of that Act on the Prelates, who had not the least Hand in it, only to incense them against the Church.

The second Ground of Discontent, was, that the Lay-Nobility and Gentry, who had the Tythes by Way of Impropriations, oppress'd the People in recovering of the same, whilst, at the same Time, the Clergy being reduc'd to a Benevolence, or a small Stipend from the Lords of the Tythe, were expos'd to Contempt, and a base Dependence on those Lords: For
redressing

redressing of which Grievances, his Majesty, by the Advice of the most learned Lawyers, had given Commission to divers Hundreds of the prime of all Estates and Degrees, for relieving, as they should see Cause, both the Ministers, and the Owners of the Corn; which Commissioners, after sitting several Years, did order, that the Owners of the Grounds should severally purchase the said Tythes at such Rates as was then agreed on between the Buyers and the Sellers; and that every Minister's Means should be augmented in such a Proportion, as that the Incumbent should be no longer a Slave to his Patron. This the Owners of the Lands acknowledg'd as the greatest Benefit; the Clergy most thankfully confess'd the same, and the Nobility and other Lay-Persons, seem'd satisfy'd, as they were in Point of Profit, having receiv'd the Value of what they parted with, to the utmost Farthing; but it griev'd them, that the Clergy and Laity were deliver'd from the Bonds of their Dependance; and therefore they also retorted this, as obtain'd by the Importunity of the Bishops; thus, by making their Persons odious, to draw in a Jealousy of Religion.

The third factious Practice, was, at the King's being in *Scotland* when the Contrivers of the Covenant began to suggest Fears of Innovation in Religion; which was as soon confuted; for nothing was then pass'd in Parliament, by the Act to empower the King to appoint Vestures for Church-men, and another Act of Ratification of all other

Acts

Acts before made, and then in Force, concerning Religion.

At the same Time, many suing for Titles and Honours, his Majesty bestow'd them only on such as had shewn most Loyalty; which made the others first mutter, and when the King was gone, to fly into Sedition, falsely giving out, that Votes had been bought, and pack'd in Parliament; and that the Voices had not been truly taken, but some Acts pass'd without a Plurality; which was utterly impossible, so many taking Votes. The Inventors of this Calumny not daring to try it in a judicial Way, spread it abroad in an infamous Libel, which, upon Examination, was fasten'd upon one *Hagge*, who fled for the same; but it was encourag'd and dispers'd by some of the greatest Quality; only one of all whom, his Majesty thought fit to prosecute; that was the Lord *Balmerino*, whose Father had got his Honour and Estate under King *James I.* and being afterwards condemn'd for High-Treason against him, and his Blood attainted, had been not only pardon'd, but restor'd to his Honour by him. And yet his Son, forgetting all those Obligations, incurr'd the same Guilt of High-Treason, was convicted of, and condemn'd for the same; but the King also pardon'd, and restor'd him. Yet this same Lord *Balmerino*, unmindful of the Mercy extended to his Father and himself, was one of the most malicious Promoters of the Covenant.

By this it appears, that the Seeds of Sedition were sown long before the Service-Book,

or

or Book of Canons were thought of; and began to grow ripe upon the following Occasion. King *James I.* knowing that the Service in *Scotland* was scandalous, there being no set Form, but every Preacher, Reader, or School-master, praying so ignorantly, as was a Shame to all Religion; sometimes so seditiously, that their Prayers were mere Libels, and often stuff'd with Lies, such as the false Reports of the Kingdom; he prevail'd with the general Assembly held at *Aberdeen* in 1616, to settle a Form to be us'd throughout the Kingdom. The Book was by them compil'd and sent into *England* for that King's Approbation; but before he could establish the same, he dy'd, and King *Charles* having made some Alterations in it, sent the same into *Scotland*, where the Council set forth a Proclamation, that the said Book should be receiv'd and read in all Churches upon *Easter-Day* 1637.

All gentle Means were us'd to dispose the People, and acquaint them with what was to be done, that it might not be a Surprise upon them; and the Book had been commended by some Covenanting Ministers, in their Sermons, without any Disgust taken thereat; and yet a most barbarous Tumult and Insurrection attended the first Reading of it at *Edinburgh*. The Particulars whereof were as follow.

On the 23d of *July* 1637, being Sunday, according to publick Warning given the Sunday before, the Service-Book was begun to be read at *Edinburgh*, in *St. Giles's*, commonly

call'd the Great Church; where were present many of the Council, Arch-Bishops, Bishops, the Lords of the Session, Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, and abundance of other People. No sooner was the Book open'd by the Dean of *Edinburgh*, but a Number of the vulgar Sort, most of them Women, rais'd such an Hub-bub in the Place, clapping their Hands, cursing and crying out, that none could hear or be heard. The Bishop of *Edinburgh*, who was to preach, stepp'd into the Pulpit to appease the Tumult, by putting them in Mind of the Sacredness of the Place, and of the horrible Prophanation thereof; but the Multitude grew so enrag'd, that if a Stool, aim'd to be thrown at him, had not been diverted by one present, that Prelate's Life had been in Danger. The Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*, the Lord Chancellor, and several others, offering to appease the Multitude, were answer'd with Curses and Imprecations; so that not being able to prevail with the People, the Provost, Bailiffs, and other Magistrates, were forc'd to come down from the Gallery where they usually sit, and, with much Difficulty, thrust out that disorderly Rabble, and made fast the Church Doors. Then the Dean proceeded in the Service; but the Clamour without, the knocking at the Doors, and throwing Stones at the Windows, was so great, that the Magistrates were oblig'd to go out to appease the Multitude. The Bishop of *Edinburgh* preach'd, and had like to have been murder'd by the Mob, as he was going Home, but that the Earl of *Weems* sent his Servants

to

to rescue him. In other Churches, the Ministers were oblig'd to desist from reading the Service, and so that Morning pass'd. The Earl of *Roxborough*, Lord Privy-Seal, who carry'd Home the Bishop, was in Danger of being ston'd to Death, but that his Servants kept off the Rabble with their drawn Swords.

Thus the pretended Reformation began there, by the vilest of the People, the Magistrates and others of any Rank, declaring against their Insolences. The next Day, being the 24th of *July* 1637, the Council set forth a Proclamation to prevent tumultuous Meetings in *Edinburgh*, under Pain of Death; and the Magistrates of the City promis'd their utmost Assistance towards reading of the Service-Book, which the Ministers durst not do, without being assur'd of Protection. This the said Magistrates did not only give under their Hands to the Council of *Scotland*, but also writ a Letter to the Arch-Bishop of *Canterbury*, desiring him to assure the King of their Readiness to promote the new Service. The two Letters sent by them to the Arch-Bishop, upon this Occasion, and sign'd by *J. Cockrane*, *J. Smith*, *C. Hamilton*, Bailiffs, and *James Rucheid*, were stuff'd with fair Words, but nothing of Sincerity; for those very Subscribers under-hand encourag'd the Tumults, and were afterwards the chief Covenanters; and it appear'd, that very many of those who bestow'd the harshest Names of Rogues, &c. on the first Mutiniers, afterwards cry'd them up for Saints, and heroick Reformers,

The Harvest drawing near, most of the Rabble, as well as Gentry, went into the Country, so that the City was more quiet; and yet then the same Bailiffs of *Edinburgh* petition'd the Council, that the Service-Book might not be press'd upon them. As soon as the Harvest was over, the disaffected Multitude return'd, and all Things seem'd ripe for Rebellion; whereupon the Council, on the 17th of *October* 1637, emitted three Proclamations, the one commanding all Persons who could not shew just Cause for their staying in *Edinburgh*, to depart the City within 24 Hours; the second to remove the Session to *Linlithgow*, and thence to *Dundee*; and the third for suppressing a Libel entitled, *A Dispute against the English Popish Ceremonies, obtruded upon the Kirk of Scotland*.

The Consequence of these Proclamations was, an open Insurrection, which happened the next Day, the 18th of *October* 1637. The Bishop of *Galloway* going to the Council-House was assaulted by the Rabble, and with much Difficulty escap'd being torn in Pieces getting into the said Council-House, where the Danger was not over, for those People persisted in their demanding of him; and the Earl of *Traquair*, Lord Treasurer, and the Earl of *Wigton*, one of the Lords of the Council, going thither, with their Followers, to relieve him, found themselves in no better Condition. Being thus beset, they sent the Provost, Bailiffs, and Council of *Edinburgh*, then sitting, to take some Care for their Safety; who sent Answer by one

Thomas Thompson, who was an Eye-Witness of the Truth of it, that they were in a worse Condition themselves, the Multitude having broke in upon them, and vow'd to kill all in the House, unless they subscrib'd a Paper presented to them; which, to save their Lives, they had been oblig'd to do. The Contents of the Paper being, 1st, That they should join with them in opposing the Service-Book; 2dly, That they should restore to their Pulpits *Mr. Ramsey*, and *Mr. Rollock*, their two silenc'd Ministers; 3dly, That they should also restore one *Henderson*, a silenc'd Reader. The Earl of *Traquair* passing between the Council-House, and the Council of the City, narrowly escap'd being trod to Death; for he was thrown down, and lost his Hat, Cloak, and White-Staff. In Conclusion, they were at last convey'd away by some of the Noblemen and Gentry, who sided with the Mob, and were assembled for promoting the Petition against the Service-Book.

The Tumult being a little appeas'd, the King's Council met, and order'd Proclamation to be made at the Market-Cross, to discharge all publick Gatherings, and commanding all Persons to forbear the same for the future, under the severest Penalties. This avail'd so little, that the next Council-Day, they had the Impudence to send their Deputies to the Council, to require the Performance of the three Articles above-mention'd, to have been sign'd by the Magistrates. Soon after, they presented to the Chancellor two Petitions; the first against the Service-Book, in the Name
of

of all the Men, Women, and Children in *Edinburgh*; the other from the Nobility, Gentry, Ministers, and Burgesſes, againſt both the Service-Book and Canons. The Petitions were ſent up by the Council to the King; who ſeeing no Signs of Repentance for their Tumults, deferr'd anſwering them directly, but order'd the Council to ſignify his Averſion to Popery and Superſtition, as was done by Proclamation.

His Maſteſty ſent the Earl of *Roxburgh*, Lord Privy-Seal, into *Scotland*, with Directions for the Council to ſit at *Dalkeith*, four Miles from *Edinburgh*, and the Seſſion or Term to be held at *Stirling*, 24 Miles from that City, in order to diſperſe the Multitude, by drawing away ſuch as had any Law-Buſineſs. At *Stirling*, Proclamation was made for diſperſing of all diſorderly Multitudes, and aſſuring the Subjects of his Maſteſty's Sincerity towards the Religion eſtabliſh'd in that Kingdom; and there firſt the Nobility, Gentry, Miniſters, and Burgeſſes, did the ſame Thing, which they themſelves had call'd the Uproar of Rascals, at the firſt Reading of the Service-Book at *Edinburgh*: For at *Stirling*, the Proclamation being made, the Earl of *Hume*, and the Lord *Lindſey*, with many others of all Ranks, made a Proteſtation againſt the ſame, which was repeated at *Linlithgow*, and at *Edinburgh*; at which laſt, beſides other Affronts, they forc'd the Heraulds, and other Officers, to ſtay and hear their Proteſtation againſt the Proclamation, as if both had been made by equal Authority.

After

After this Protestation, follow'd other Acts of open Rebellion; for then the Protesters began to take upon them the Marks of Sovereignty, by erecting publick Council-Tables, for ordering the Affairs of the Kingdom, and by entering into a Covenant, and wicked Combination, against all that should oppose them, not excepting the King himself. These Council-Tables were four, one of the Nobility, another of the Gentry, a third of the Boroughs, and the fourth of the Ministers, besides many subordinate Tables, for the several Shires. The first Act of these Tables, was, the taking and imposing of the Covenant, the first Part whereof was call'd, *The Confession of Faith of the Kirk of Scotland*; which indeed was nothing less, for it does not mention one single Article of their Faith, but is all made up of Negatives, as if Faith only consisted in not believing, and renouncing, and there were no Necessity of believing any Thing. Then follows an Enumeration of Acts against Popery; all which Popery is charg'd upon the Service-Book, the Canons, and other Particulars relating to the Church of *England*. Then follows the Covenant, by which they solemnly swear, that they will, according to their Places and Callings, endeavour the Preservation of the reform'd Religion in the Church of *Scotland*, in Doctrine, Worship, Discipline, and Government, &c. and that they will stand in mutual Defence of one another.

The spreading of this Covenant throughout the Kingdom, tho' oppos'd then by both Universities

Universities of *Aberdeen* and *Glasgow*, rais'd such a Flame, that the Council, not able to quench it, sent Sir *John Hamilton*, Justice-Clerk, and of the Privy-Council, to acquaint his Majesty with all the Particulars of the Rebellion. The King hereupon sent the Marquess of *Hamilton*, his High-Commissioner, into *Scotland*, with full Power and Authority to conclude and determine all such Things as should be for the Good, Quietness, and Peace of that Kingdom.

The Marquess was receiv'd by the Council of *Scotland*, and enter'd upon the Execution of his Office, on the 6th of *June* 1638, at *Dalkeith*. The Covenanters had not been idle in the mean Time, but made great Provision of Arms, whilst the Preachers, with their seditious Sermons, fill'd the People with Apprehensions, that there was more Danger than ever, in the Marquess's coming, and all peaceable Treaties that could be propos'd. They also forbid all Persons repairing to the King's Commissioner, or Council at *Dalkeith*; and the more to deter the Ignorant, they gave out, that there was a Design to blow up at *Dalkeith*, all such of them as should resort thither. Besides, the King having sent 200 Muskets, as many Pikes, and a small Quantity of Powder, to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, they made a great Noise of that, tho' at the same Time, they had two Ships laden with Arms and Ammunition from Abroad, which they landed openly in the Face of the World.

Things

Things were at a Stand, the Covenanters refusing to make any Address to the Commissioner and Council at *Dalkeith*, and they thinking it a Diminution of the King's Authority, and not for their Safety, to return to *Edinburgh*. At last, the Citizens of that Place, doubtless by the Advice of the Tables, sent Deputies to the Commissioner, to pray he would be pleas'd to repair to the King's Palace at *Holy-rude-House*, where they might more conveniently give Demonstrations of their Affection to his Majesty's Service, in attending his Grace's Directions. The Deputies having, as the Commissioner and Council requir'd, engag'd, that the Guards plac'd about the Castle, should be remov'd; and that the Magistrates would take Care that the Multitude were kept within Bounds of Duty: The Marquess of *Hamilton*, and the King's Council, remov'd from *Dalkeith* to *Holy-rude-House*, being met by the Covenanters, whose Rabble, when they came into the City, rais'd great Cries against Popery and Bishops indifferently, as the same Thing.

The Commissioner being at *Edinburgh*, propos'd to the Covenanters, that they should expect from him, as the King's Commissioner, a Redress of their Grievances; and that they should return to their Obedience, and deliver up their late Covenant. These Propositions they receiv'd with Contempt, declaring they would accept of no Satisfaction from his Majesty, but what they should have by a general Assembly of the Kirk, and a Parliament; that they had never departed from their

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Obedience;

Obedience; and that they would rather renounce their Baptism, than their Covenant. Next, by their Misrepresentations of what had pass'd, they rais'd the People to a greater Pitch of Fury, than before, as if their Religion and Laws were then at Stake. Hereupon, the Castle was again block'd up, the Guards and Watches about the City were doubled, and the Preachers redoubled their seditious Flights in their Sermons. Then they sent to acquaint the Commissioner, that if any One durst read the *English* divine Service on Sunday, in the Royal Chappel, he should never read more; and at the same Time, they directed Letters to all the Counsellors, requiring them to subscribe their Covenant.

The King had order'd his Commissioner to publish a Declaration of his Royal Intentions to redress all Grievances; which the prime Covenanters us'd all Means to prevent, by incensing of the People; to gain whom, the Marquess of *Hamilton*, with his Majesty's Consent, order'd the Session, or Courts of Justice, to be again held at *Edinburgh*, which was very acceptable to many. To disappoint this good Design, the Chiefs of the Tables had the Insolence to acquaint the Commissioner, that unless Sir *Robert Spotwood*, President of the Session, and Sir *John Hay*, Clerk-Register, equivalent to the Master of the Rolls in *England*, were remov'd from the Session, they would protest against whatsoever should be transacted during their Sitting; and pretending to charge them with Corruption; neither of which they ever intended.

The

The Commissioner resolving next to publish his Majesty's Declaration, the Covenanters, for several Days, kept the Streets full of armed Men to obstruct it ; and when at last, the Crowd being less, the Heralds came to proclaim it at the Market-Cross, the others had a Scaffold erected there, on which they mounted with a Protestation ready in their Hands, before the King's Proclamation was read. In it his Majesty assur'd them, that neither the Service-Book, nor the Canons, should be press'd upon them, but in such a fair and legal Way as should satisfy them that he intended no Innovation in the Religion or Laws : That the High-Commission Court should never be a Grievance to the Subjects : That all Things touching the Establishment of Religion should be transacted in Parliament ; and that he had no Intention of making any Innovation in Religion ; but that all Things should be manag'd according to the Laws of the Realm. The Covenanters, when the Proclamation was read, proceeded with their Protestation, justifying all their own Proceedings, charging the Innovations in Religion, complaining, that their Petitions were not answer'd, and that, on the contrary, the King only said he would call a Parliament at a convenient Time ; and, in short, scandalously reflecting on his Majesty, as if all his Proceedings had been irregular and arbitrary. In fine, they protested, before God and Man, that they would stand to their Reformation, to their Grievances, and Protestations, and to their Covenant, &c. Of this insolent Protestation, *John Earl of Cassels*,

for the Nobility, Mr. *Alexander Gibson* for the Barons, *James Fletcher* for the Boroughs, Mr. *John Ker* for the Ministers, and Mr. *Archibald Johnson*, Reader of the same, in the Name of all other Covenanters, took Instruments in the Hands of three Notaries present and offer'd a Copy thereof to the Herald.

The Lord Commissioner perceiving they were resolv'd to be satisfy'd with nothing that could be offer'd them, declar'd his Instructions were out, and that he must return to acquaint the King with what they call their Explication of the Covenant; which as it gave him no Satisfaction, he thought could give none to his Majesty. However he intreated them, in the mean Time, to behave themselves peaceably, 'till the King's Pleasure could be known.

After much Contention among the Covenanters at their Tables, whether they should expect the Return of the Commissioner, or not, it was carry'd, that they would expect him 'till the fifth of *August* next, at farthest; but if he did not then return, or not bring with him such an Answer from the King as they expected, they would hold themselves free, and go on to prosecute what they had begun; and so the Lord Commissioner set out for *England*.

The Marquess return'd by the Day appointed, with Orders to call a general Assembly and a Parliament; and at his Arrival, found all Things much worse than he had left them: the Heads of the Faction, who were resolv'd to come to no Accommodation, having,

ring the Commissioner's Absence, perswaded many of all Sorts, and especially of the Ministers, to enter into the Covenant, and convinc'd all the Herd, that they might compass their Ends as they desir'd. They also gave out in Print, that the Commissioner himself was satisfy'd with their Explication of the Covenant; which he endeavour'd to refute by a printed Declaration, tho' his Actions afterwards seem to verify their Assertion.

Another Clamour was rais'd, at this Time, upon a Bible found in *Edinburgh*, with the Cuts of several Passages in the Gospels, and the Acts of the Apostles, bound up in it; which the Ministers and others improv'd, as a plain Design of introducing Popery and Idolatry.

The Lord Commissioner sending to the Covenanters to concert what Members were to be chosen for the general Assembly, and the Matters to be treated in it, they made Use of this to inflame the Multitude, as if a Restraint were design'd to be put upon that Assembly; and therefore they openly declar'd, they could be satisfy'd it should be conven'd by his Majesty's Authority; but in Case it were not, they could do it without him; and accordingly, they began to chuse Commissioners for the said Assembly at *Peebles*, about 20 Miles from *Edinburgh*, that the Lord Commissioner might soon hear of it; the Gentry of that Presbytery intruding themselves by Force to vote, as well for the Ministers, as for one Lay-man, to be their Commissioner.

Upon these their Irregularities, the Lord Commissioner told them, he had no Authority
to

to convene the Assembly, unless some Particulars were agreed upon, as, restoring of Ministers and Moderators, depriv'd by the Presbyteries without the Knowledge of the Ordinary, 'till the general Assembly should try them; that all Bishops and Ministers should have their Rents paid them; that Ministers should repair to their Churches; that the Bishops and other Ministers should be safe at the said Assembly; and that all Meetings should be dissolv'd, &c. They would not consent to any of these Propositions, but instead thereof, return'd unreasonable Answers. Hereupon his Lordship told them, he must return to the King, and desir'd they would give him their utmost Demands, which he would deliver to his Majesty, and in a few Days, either bring them his Majesty's Answer himself, or send it. Their Reply, after much Contention, was like the former, that they would expect the Answer 'till the 21st of September; but as for their Demands, they would come to no other Particulars, than a general Assembly and Parliament, where they would make their Desires known. As soon as they had given him this peremptory Account, they again fell to incensing of the People, telling them, that the Commissioner had neither Power nor Will to give them any Satisfaction, only to gain Time 'till all Things were prepar'd for their Ruin.

The Marquess, on the other Hand, to convince the People of the King's good Intentions, printed and dispers'd abroad many Copies of only two Propositions, to which he had

had reduc'd all the rest, upon which he would call a general Assembly; they were, that none but the Ministers of the several Presbyteries, should have Voices in chusing the Ministers to be sent to the general Assembly; and that the said Assembly should only meddle with Matters Ecclesiastical, and not go about to determine of Things establish'd by Act of Parliament.

This so provok'd the Leaders of the Faction, that they immediately gave Order for the Election of the Commissioners to the general Assembly throughout the whole Kingdom; but upon the Marquess of *Hamilton's* telling them, that if they proceeded therein, he would stay in the Kingdom, and expect the Issue of their Councils, they declar'd they would, as a Favour to him, delay the Election of the Commissioners of the Assembly, 'till his Return.

The Marquess returning before the appointed Day, found that the Covenanters, who had promis'd that the Commissioners for the Assembly, should not be chosen before his Return, had appointed the Day of Election to be on the 22d of *September*, which was the very next Day after he was expected to return, so that they sav'd their Promise by an Equivocation, (that being the very Day after his Return) before any Thing could be done by him, or the same known in most Parts at any Distance from *Edinburgh*. Besides, the Covenanters, who would not hear the Lord-Commissioner talk of any Directions to be agreed on for the general Assembly, had put out eight
Articles

Articles of their own Authority, relating to the same.

Notwithstanding these Discouragements, the Lord-Commissioner, the next Day after his Arrival, being the 22d of *September* 1638, assembled the Council at the Palace of *Holyrude-House*, and there deliver'd to them two Letters from his Majesty. The first of them directed the Council to cause the Confession of Faith and Covenant, of the 28th of *January* 1580, to be subscrib'd by his Majesty's Authority, which had been before done without it; and this to satisfy the People of his Aversion to Popery. The Counsellors that were Covenanters, having given an Account hereof to the Tables, they rais'd a Clamour, that a new Covenant was to be impos'd on them, to destroy the former; and therefore they requir'd the Lord-Commissioner, and the Council, not to subscribe the said Confession by King's Authority, and threatening them, in Case they did; and this for fear least the People, perceiving how much the King comply'd with them, should return to their Duty. But the Marquess and the Council, notwithstanding all their Opposition, did cause the King's Declaration to be publish'd that Day, being *Saturday*, at the Cross of *Edinburgh*. The Contents of it were, the discharging of the Service-Book, Canons, and High-Commission-Court, as also the Articles of *Perth*; the enjoining of the subscribing of the aforesaid Confession of Faith, and the summoning of a general Assembly, and a Parliament; as also an Indemnity for all that was past. After reading

reading of this Declaration, the Confession of Faith, as it was first commanded by King *James* the first, and the Band annex'd for the Defence of Religion, were produc'd, sworn, and sign'd by the Marquess of *Hamilton*, Lord Commissioner, *Traquair*, *Roxburgh*, *Marischal*, *Mar*, *Murray*, *Linlithgow*, *Perth*, *Wigton*, *Kin-gorne*, *Tullibardin*, *Haddington*, *Annandale*, *Lau-derdale*, *Kinoul*, *Dumfries*, *Southesk*, *Belhaven*, *Angus*, *Lorn*, *Elphinston*, *Naper*, *Dalyel*, *Amont*, *J. Hay*, *Sir Thomas Hope*, *Sir W. Elphinston*, *Ja. Carmichael*, *J. Hamilton*, *Blackhal*.

At the same Time Proclamation was made for the Indictment of a General-Assembly; and then another for summoning a Parliam-ent; and lastly, an Act of the Lords of the Council, requiring all the King's Subjects to subscribe the aforesaid Confession of Faith, and Band annex'd. Notwithstanding all this, and that the Lords of the Council above men-tion'd, by an Act of Council, and a Letter to his Majesty, signify'd the extraordinary Satis-faction they had receiv'd by his Majesty's Condescensions, the Covenanters still went on cavilling at all the King or his Council had done, poisoning the ignorant Multitude, and accordingly publish'd a scandalous Pro-testation against all the Proceedings they had extorted in Favour of themselves.

The next Day, being *Sunday*, all the Pul-pits in *Edinburgh* did ring with bitter In-victives against the King's Declaration, and particularly that Part of it, which enjoind the subscribing of the Confession of Faith; which, tho' the same they had subscrib'd be-fore,

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fort, was represented in the most hideous Manner, and said to import no less than the Destruction of their Souls and Bodies. All these Absurdities the People dispos'd to Rebellion, believ'd from the Mouths of their seditious Preachers; and the same was soon dispers'd throughout the whole Kingdom. However, some of the Council, and many Ministers, and others, were then fully satisfy'd with the Declaration; and the Provost, Bailiffs, and Council of *Glasgow*, as also the Ministers of that City, return'd their Thanks to his Majesty, and to his Commissioner, for the same. Yet this avail'd little afterwards, for

The Covenanters took such Methods, being indeed much the most numerous, that few or none were chosen for the General-Assembly, but such as they directed, having got their Aim in this Point. Nor did they take less Pains to obstruct the subscribing of the Confession of Faith, as appointed by the King; however, of the 20 Lords of the Session, 16 did subscribe, only four refusing. The same Endeavours were us'd in all Parts of the Kingdom, and for Fear they should not answer their Expectation, it was positively asserted, that the King never intended to perform any of those Things he had promis'd in his Proclamation, but only contriv'd to gain Time, 'till he could be ready to work their Ruin. Next, they gave out, that the General-Assembly would not be held; and when they saw that it would certainly meet, they proceeded to use all Arts

to make it unsuccessful, and particularly, writing to the Commissioner, to complain, that Violence was us'd to compel People to subscribe the Confession of Faith, as set out by the King's Order, which they and all Men knew to be utterly false. They order'd a general Communion in the County of *Fife*, at which every Man was to swear, that he would not subscribe to any other Confession and Covenant, but their own, and to stand to that Part of it which related to their mutual Defence. They also order'd a general Fast to be kept on the 4th of *November*, being *Sunday*, on purpose to put down the Fast appointed by the King, which was to be on *Wednesday* the 7th.

Thus did they openly oppose whatsoever was enjoin'd by the King, tho' it were the same Thing they would do themselves, that nothing might be acted by his Majesty's Authority, and every Thing by their own. Thus they proceeded to excommunicate and eject several Ministers, by Power of their Presbyteries, for no legal Offence, and refusing to hear the Appeals of those Ministers to the General-Assembly which was so near at Hand, or to pay the least Respect to the Letters or Warrants from the Lord Commissioner, in the King's Name, for suspending of those illegal Proceedings. That no villainous Proceeding might be omitted, they would have had the Lord Commissioner to grant a Process against all the Arch-Bishops and Bishops of the Kingdom, at once, that so they might have no Voice in the General-Assembly;

which the Marquess refusing, as contray to all Law, they drew up a false and scandalous Libel against all those Prelates, caus'd it to be read in the several Churches in *Edinburgh*, and to be receiv'd by the Presbytery of that City, as a sufficient Charge to disable them from acting in the General-Assembly. The Presbitery accordingly took upon them to cite all those Prelates, in a peremptory Manner, to appear before the said Assembly, and to charge all Pastors within their District to read the Citation.

To all their Insolencies, for the better deluding of the Multitude, they added a notable Piece of Forgery, which was, that they instructed a Maid, whose Name was *Michelson* and who had been several Years distracted by Fits, yet so as always in her Ravings to appear much affected to the Covenanters. This Wench they taught to pretend to Inspiration, and having a good Memory, in her counterfeit Raptures she deliver'd all that had been put into her Head by the faction Leaders of the Party, and particularly by their Incendiary Minister *Rollock*; and whatsoever she utter'd, was by the Ignorant look'd upon as an unquestionable Oracle.

Notwithstanding all these rebellious Practices of the Covenanters, the Lord Commissioner and the Council repair'd to *Glasgow*, and the General-Assembly was there open'd, on the 21st of *November*. After reading of the Marquess of *Hamilton's* Commission, and the King's Letter to the Assembly, Dr. *Hamilton* presented a Protestation in the Name of the
Bishop

Bishops, against that Assembly; and after much Debate, Mr. *Alexander Henderson*, the most rigid Covenanter in the Kingdom, was chosen Moderator, without the least Opposition. They again refus'd to read the Protestation of the Bishops, and then proceeded to exclude all such Members of the Assembly, as had not been chosen by the Direction of the Tables, without hearkening to the evident Proofs made for their due Election, or shewing any plausible Reason against them. The University of *Aberdeen* sent none of their Professors to the Assembly, they having been threaten'd with the Loss of their Lives for writing against the Covenant.

At length the Protestation of the Bishops was allow'd to be read, as were some other Protestations, against the Legality of the Assembly, but without the least Regard had to them; whereupon the Lord Commissioner, perceiving that nothing like Justice was to be expected there, but that, on the contrary, it was resolv'd by the Covenanters, that the Assembly should choose Commissioners to sit from one Assembly to another, which was perpetuating of their own Authority, and overthrowing of the King's, he resolv'd to dissolve the said Assembly in his Majesty's Name, which he accordingly did on *Wednesday* the 28th of *November*, entering, at the same Time, his Protestation against any Proceedings of the said Assembly, after its being so dissolv'd by him in his Majesty's Name, and promising, that if they would then depart, he would himself apply to his Majesty for another

nother free Assembly to be conven'd, which might set right all the Faults committed in that. Then the Earl of *Argyle*, who was one of his Majesty's Council, said, He held it fit that the Assembly should consist of Lay-men, as well as Church-men, and exhorted them to stand by the Confession of Faith as it was sworn in 1581. Thus that Earl began to shew himself, by openly standing up for the Covenanters, whilst he had the undeserv'd Honour of being a Member of his Majesty's Council. The Lord Commissioner being withdrawn, all the Members, except about eight or nine, voted first to continue the Assembly, and next, that notwithstanding their being discharg'd by the Commissioner, they were still competent Judges to the Bishops, and would go on in their Tryal.

The next Day a Proclamation was solemnly read by Sound of Trumpet, sign'd by the Lord Commissioner, and all the Council, except the Earl of *Argyle*, and was for dissolving the General-Assembly. Against this Proclamation, *Johnston*, Clerk of the Assembly, assisted by the Lord *Areskyn* and others, read a Protestation of the said General-Assembly, which he refus'd to deliver to the Clerk of the Council, saying, he must stay 'till it was written: So it appears they all protested they knew not what, tho' afterwards, at more Leisure, they penn'd and printed a long Protestation, full of Absurdities and Falshoods.

The Assembly now sitting by their own Authority, and without the Check of the Lord Commissioner, voted whatsoever the most
Inve-

Inveterate among them propos'd, without the least discussing. Thus, in one Hour, they declar'd six former General-Assemblies to be null and void, tho' two of them were then, and long after, in Force by several Acts of Parliament, and several Acts of the other four confirm'd by Parliament. In another Hour they condemn'd, barely upon the Report of a few Ministers, all that they call'd *Arminian* Tenets, and under that Name, many Things receiv'd by all the Reform'd Churches. In another Hour they depriv'd the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*, the Bishops of *Galloway* and *Brecher*, and so, at other Times, all the rest of the Bishops, many of whom they also excommunicated. Next, they as peremptorily, and with as little Deliberation, declar'd Episcopal Government to be inconsistent with the Laws of that Church and Kingdom, and so abolish'd it for ever, tho' it did then, and long after, stand confirm'd by many Acts both of Parliaments and Assemblies. Next, they depriv'd the Ministers, who had set their Hands to Protestations against Lay-Elders, and Elections made by them, and other Ministers for *Arminianism*, tho' that Doctrine had never been prohibited by the Church of *Scotland*, and those Ministers were depriv'd, without so much as being ask'd the Question, whether they did hold any such Opinion, or whether, in case they did, they would renounce it, and conform to the Judgment of the Assembly? In fine, they pass'd a Multitude of Acts tending to Sedition and Rebellion; and towards the End of their Assembly, divided themselves into several

several Committees, which were, after their Rising, to see all their Acts put in Execution, a Thing never heard of there before. The Moderator, in the Conclusion, return'd Thanks to God for their Success; and then to the Nobility and others, for the Pains they had taken, but particularly to the Earl of *Argyle*, who did not omit to excuse his late declaring himself, and protesting that he was always set their Way, but had delay'd to profess it, so long as he found his close Carriage might be advantageous to their Cause; thus labouring to shew he had been always a Favourer of their rebellious Practices, and not spar'd to conceal it, that he might have the better Opportunity of betraying the King; all which he did not fail afterwards to make good.

The Lord High Commissioner, after he left the Assembly, to disabuse the People, who had been misled by the false Sense put upon his Majesty's Confession of Faith, and Band annex'd to it, set out an Explanation of it, proving, that it was in Reality the same with that of the Covenanters; who, on their Part, publish'd an Answer to his Lordship's Explanation. The King being advertis'd of all these Proceedings, and being by them made sensible that the *Scots* had quite cast off all Subjection, as openly opposing all his just Commands, his Majesty issu'd out his Letters to the Nobility to attend his Royal Standard at *Tork*, and sent Orders to the Mayors of *Newcastle* and *Hull*, for fortifying of those Places.

The

The Covenanters being sensible that they had now brought Matters to such a Point, that their Insolencies must be defended by Force of Arms, and that the King having given the necessary Orders for warlike Preparations, had also summon'd the *English* Parliament to meet at *Westminster* on the 13th of *April* 1640, thought it requisite to emit their Declaration for the Use of their Brethren in Iniquity in *England*. They were well assur'd of their Party there, else would they never have presum'd to insult the King as they did, and at last to appear in Arms against him; all their *Scottish* Power would have avail'd them little, had *England* been firm to the King; but they well knew they were to be supported by a powerful Party at that Time, with whom they kept a private Correspondence; and being thus assur'd of the *English*, they could not hesitate to go on with their Practices. Accordingly, on the 14th of *February* 163², they publish'd a scandalous Libel, by the Name of, *An Information to all good Christians within the Kingdom of England, from the Noblemen, Barons, Burgeses, Ministers of the Kingdom of Scotland, for vindicating their Intentions and Actions from the unjust Calumnies of their Enemies*: Wherein they assure their Brethren of *England* of their good Intentions, and of the Sincerity of their Hearts for carrying on the Lord's Cause, as they stil'd the Rebellion, and that they only aim'd at endeavouring a Reformation, and a Conservation of the true Religion in the two Kingdoms.

The Lord-Commissioner, at this Time, perceiving there was no more for him to do in *Scotland*, desir'd and obtain'd his Majesty's Leave to return into *England*; but, before his Departure, finding the People at *Edinburgh* had been shamefully impos'd upon by false Reports, in Relation to the General-Assembly at *Glasgow*, as if his Majesty had there made good nothing of what was contain'd in his last Declaration, he acquainted his Majesty therewith, who, with all possible Speed, commanded him to make known to his Subjects at *Edinburgh*, the whole Proceedings at *Glasgow*; which the Marquess accordingly did most fully, and caus'd the said Proclamation to be read at the Market-Cross at *Edinburgh*. But this was of no Effect, the Multitude was not willing to be undeceiv'd, and their Leaders, now ready to appear in Arms upon the Encouragements receiv'd from *England*, immediately answer'd the Proclamation with an undutiful, noisy, and empty Protestation, without any thing of Truth.

Soon after the publishing of his Majesty's Proclamation, and the Protestation of the Covenanters, the Lord-Commissioner set out for *England*; and the Scots began to act by their own Authority, making the Acts of their unlawful Assembly to be receiv'd, and that in some Places by Force of Arms, raising Soldiers, and levying Taxes for the Support of them; taking the Castle of *Edinburgh*, and preaching publickly a Necessity of taking up Arms against the King, under Pain of Perjury and Damnation; whilst, at the same Time, they

they caus'd to be dispers'd in *England* many infamous Libels, justifying their own wicked Practices, and inciting the People whom they knew already dispos'd to rebel, and deface the Ecclesiastical Government.

The King being now in want of Money, before the Session of the Parliament, which could not be expected, the Rebellion in *Scotland* being so bare-fac'd, as has been shewn, obtain'd some voluntary Contributions from the Clergy, as also from the *Roman* Catholicks of *England*; at which, the Favourers of the *Scotch* Rebellion did not fail to exclaim, as if the dutiful Collections of those People, for the Service of their King, had been a most notorious Act of Treason against the Rebels. Thus we see, that to support the most lawful Sovereign, is ever a mighty Crime in the Eyes of Traytors.

Nor were the *Scots* now idle, but, besides their open Preparations at Home, made secret Conventions in *England* with the Presbyterian Party, as plainly appear'd the following Year, when the *Scots* ravag'd the Northern Countries; whereof Complaint being made to the Parliament, some of the Lower-House did not stick publickly to say, *There was no Danger or Inconveniency to be fear'd from the Scotch Army.* The King being sensible of those private Practices, caus'd a Proclamation and Declaration to be issu'd, to inform his *English* Subjects of the seditious Practices of the *Scots*, to overthrow his Royal Power in that Kingdom, and to raise Rebellion in this.

To this Declaration, the *Scots* put out a canting Answer, alledging, that they were oblig'd to enter into a War upon their own Defence. Things being brought to this Pass, the King set out from *London* towards *Tork*, on the 27th of *March* 1639, where the Army was to randevouz, and the Nobility and Gentry to repair to the Royal Standard, as they did in very good Order, and many of them so well dispos'd, that they would soon have brought the *Scotch* Designs to nothing, had not some General-Officers, and several Great Men about his Majesty, been in the Interest of the *Scots*, and as rank Covenanters in their Hearts as they; and these took Care to disappoint all that might conduce to his Majesty's Service, betraying him to their Fanatick Brethren. By which it appears to be a very difficult Matter to oppose a *Scotch* Invasion, which of it self would not be dangerous, if it were not favour'd by so considerable a Part in *England*.

On the 29th of *May*, the King review'd his Army, drawn up near *Berwick* upon *Tweed*, where, in the Opinion of able Judges, it was found such as would soon have put an End to the Troubles, not only in *Scotland*, but in *England*, had the right Use been made of it; and the inferior Officers and Soldiers were so eager for Action, that they begg'd to be led on whilst in their Vigour, before Want of Provisions, Diseases, or other Accidents had impair'd it. But the great Ones were false; among them the Marquess of *Hamilton*, and the Lord *Holland*, who both afterwards shew'd them-

themselves bare-fac'd. The King's Army, upon this Review, was found to consist of 19614 Men, of which Number were 3260 Horse and Dragoons; besides the Marquess of *Hamilton*, with a Squadron of Ships, lay in *Edinburgh Frith*, and had 5000 Soldiers aboard; so that the Rebels were beset both in Front and Rear.

The *Scots* thus hemm'd in, had Recourse to Artifice, relying on the Traytors entrusted by the King, and therefore began to offer a Treaty by Means of the Marquess of *Hamilton*, who now began to discover his Inside. The King sent him a Proclamation to be publish'd at *Edinburgh*, commanding the *Scots* to disband their Army; he transmitted it to the Magistrates of *Edinburgh*, for them to publish, as usual; and they desir'd some Days to return their Answer. The Covenanters, in the mean Time, writ a Letter to the Marquess, which he answer'd, and several Messages pass'd between them. In the mean Time, the two Armies were come within Sight of one another; and the Rebels finding themselves in no Condition to withstand the Royal Army, sent the Lord *Dunfermling* to the King, with a Trumpet, to deliver a Petition, in a canting Stile, desiring to treat with some Persons well affected to the true Religion, but without the least Acknowledgment of their Guilt. The King's Answer was, That they should first publish the Proclamation he had sent them, and then he would hearken to their Petition. That being by them perform'd, the Earl of *Dunfermling* return'd with another Petition like

like the former; and then the King order'd some of them to come to the Camp, to treat with six Persons appointed by his Majesty, being the Earl of *Arundel*, General of the Army, the Earl of *Essex*, Lieutenant-General, the Earls of *Holland*, *Salisbury*, and *Berkshire*, and Mr. Secretary *Cook*. The Scotch Commissioners were, the Earls of *Roths* and *Dunfermling*, the Lord *Lowdon*, *Douglas*, Sheriff of *Tivendale*, *Henderson*, and *Johnston*, two Ministers. These being come into the King's Camp, the King condescended so far as to see them himself, and said, *I am inform'd that you complain you cannot be heard, and therefore I come hither myself to know what you would say.* The Earl of *Roths* then made a feign'd Profession of Loyalty, and declar'd, their Desire was to secure their Religion and Liberties; and then the Lord *Lowdon* began to justify all their rebellious Proceedings; but the King said to him, *Sir, I will not admit of any of your Excuses for your by-past Actions; but if you are come to sue for Grace, set down your Desires particularly in Writing, and you shall receive your Answer.* Then, after some short Conference, they deliver'd their Desires in Writing, which were to this Effect, 1. That all the Acts of the last Assembly at *Glasgow* should be ratify'd in the ensuing Parliament. 2. That his Majesty should declare it his Royal Will, that all Matters Ecclesiastical should be determin'd by Assemblies of the Kirk, and Matters Civil by Parliament; and that Parliaments should be held once in two or three Years. 3. That the King's Ships and Forces should be recall'd; all Persons, Ships, and Goods

Goods arrested, restor'd ; and that all excommunicated Persons, Incendiaries, and Enemies of the Kingdom, (meaning thereby, all who had adher'd to the King) should be return'd, to suffer their deserv'd Censure and Punishment.

Hereupon his Majesty said, *For the clearing of Particulars, I require you to set down the Grounds and Reasons of your Desires.* Which the Lord Lowdon did in these Words :

Memorandum, That our Desires are only the enjoying of our Religion and Liberties, according to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws of his Majesty's Kingdom. To clear, by sufficient Grounds, that the Particulars are such, we shall not insist to crave any Point which is not so warranted. And we humbly offer all Civil and Temporal Obedience to your Majesty, which can be requir'd or expected of Loyal Subjects.

Sign'd, Lowdon.

To which, his Majesty answer'd,

That whereas his Majesty, the 11th of June, receiv'd a short Paper of the general Grounds and Limits of their humble Desires, his Majesty is graciously pleas'd to make this Answer : That if their Desires be only the enjoying of their Religion and Liberties, according to the Ecclesiastical and Civil Laws of his Majesty's Kingdom of Scotland, his Majesty doth not only agree to the same, but shall always protect them to the uttermost of his Power. And if they shall not insist upon any Thing but what is so warranted, his Majesty will most willingly and readily condescend thereunto ; so that, in the mean Time, they pay unto him that Civil and Temporal

poral Obedience which can be justly requir'd and expected of Loyal Subjects.

The Scots then gave an Explanation of the Articles above-mention'd; and the King having return'd his Answer, on *Monday* the 17th of *June*, the following Articles were agreed to on both Sides, *viz.*

I. The Forces of *Scotland* to be disbanded and dissolv'd within eight and forty Hours after the Publication of his Majesty's Declaration being agreed upon.

II. His Majesty's Castles, Forts, Ammunitions of all forts, and Royal Honours, to be deliver'd after the said Publication, so soon as his Majesty can send to receive them.

III. His Majesty's Ships to depart presently after the Delivery of the Castles, with the first fair Wind; and, in the mean Time, no Interruption of Trade or Fishing.

IV. His Majesty is graciously please to cause to be restor'd all Persons, Goods, and Ships, detain'd and arrested since the 1st Day of *November* last past.

V. There shall be no Meetings, Treatings, Consultations, or Convocations of his Majesty's Leiges, but such as are warranted by Act of Parliament.

VI. All Fortifications to desist, and no farther Working therein, and they to be remitted to his Majesty's Pleasure.

VII. To restore to every one of his Majesty's good Subjects, their Liberties, Lands, Houses, Goods, and Means whatsoever, taken or detain'd from them, by whatsoever Means, since the aforesaid Time.

Besides

Besides these Articles, the King, in his Declaration, made known, That tho' he could not condescend to ratify the Acts of the pretended General-Assembly at *Glasgow*, yet he not only confirm'd whatsoever his Commissioners had granted, but did farther assure, that all Matters Ecclesiastical should be determin'd by the Assembly of the Kirk, and Matters Civil by the Parliament; which Assemblies should be kept once a Year, or as should be agreed upon at the General-Assembly. And for settling the Distractions of the Kingdom, that a free General-Assembly should be held at *Edinburgh* on the 6th of *August* next ensuing, where he design'd to be personally present; and a Parliament to be held at *Edinburgh* on the 20th Day of *August* next ensuing, for ratifying what should be done in the Assembly, settling the Peace of the Kingdom, and passing an Act of Oblivion.

The next Day the *Scotch* Commissioners came to the King's Tent, where his Majesty sign'd the Declaration and Articles, as did the said Commissioners; and two Copies were interchang'd, the one to remain with the *Scots*, and the other with his Majesty's Secretary, Mr. Cook. The former was, by his Majesty's Command, publish'd in the *Scotch* Army, by *Lyon* King at Arms of *Scotland*, on *Thursday June 20th*, which Day their Army was also disbanded, in Appearance, according to their Promise and Submission here following:

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In

In the Camp, June 18, 1639.

In Obedience to his Majesty's Royal Commands, we shall upon Thursday next, the 20th of June, dismiss our Forces, and immediately thereafter deliver his Majesty's Castles, &c. and shall ever in all Things carry our selves like humble, loyal, and obedient Subjects.

Subscrib'd,

Roths,

Dunfermling,

Alex. Henderson,

Lowdon,

Douglas,

A. Johnston.

How well the Scots perform'd their Articles, is fit to be here observ'd: 1. They publish'd a false and scandalous Paper, entitled, *Some Conditions of his Majesty's Treaty with his Subjects of Scotland, before the English Nobility, are set down here for Rememberance*; so utterly untrue and seditious, that it was burnt by the Hand of the common Hang-man. 2. They kept together several of their Forces, and all their Officers in Pay. 3. They kept the Citadel of *Leith*, as before. 4. They continu'd, after the appointed Time, to meet and debate Matters Ecclesiastical and Civil, contrary to the Laws, and Acts of Parliament. 5. They forc'd the Subjects to subscribe to Acts of the Assembly of *Glasgow*. 6. They branded all the King's Friends and Adherents with the scandalous Names of Incendiaries and Traytors to God and their Country.

A Parliament and General-Assembly being to meet in *August* following, his Majesty commanded fourteen of the principal Covenanting-
Lords

Lords to attend him at *Berwick*; but they being conscious of their Deserts, and fearing to be confin'd, sent only three, viz. *Montrose*, *Lowdon*, and *Lothian*, who being conferr'd with by some appointed by his Majesty, seem'd to be convinc'd of their former Errors. His Majesty appointed the Earl of *Traquair*, Lord High Commissioner for *Scotland*; the Heads of whose Instructions were,

At the first meeting of the Assembly, to appoint the last Moderator to preside 'till another were chosen. To admit of Lay-Elders as Members of the Assembly, but to declare against their having Voice in fundamental Points of Religion. At the first meeting of the Assembly, to make them sensible of his Majesty's Goodness in granting them to meet, notwithstanding all that was past, and commanding the Arch-Bishops and Bishops not to appear there. Not to make use of Assessors in publick, unless able to carry their having a Voice in the Assembly. To avoid, by all means, having his Majesty's Authority, in Relation to General-Assemblies, call'd in Question. To obstruct any Mention of the former Assembly, and all Things to pass as Acts of the present Assembly. Episcopacy to be left to the Assembly, and to be abolish'd, if necessary, for the Satisfaction of the People, but not condemn'd as unlawful. To endeavour the restoring the Ministers depos'd by the former Assembly, or at least to cause them to be try'd a-new. Upon the concluding of the Assembly, to indict another within a Year. The General-Assembly not to meddle with

any Thing that is Civil. No Commissioner to be allow'd from the Assembly, nor any Act that might countenance the continuing of the Tables or Conventicles. In case Episcopacy were abolish'd, to endeavour the King might appoint fourteen Ministers to represent them in Parliament, or at least fourteen others, with Power to choose the Lords of the Articles for the Nobility, for that Time. If Episcopacy were abolish'd, that the Subjects should not be oblig'd to abjure it as Popery, or contrary to the Law of God; but if it must be abjur'd, to be as contrary to the Church of *Scotland*. The Service-Book and Canons to be discharg'd, but not condemn'd as containing Heads of Popery and Superstition; and the five Articles of *Perth*, tho' discharg'd, not to be condemn'd. And if the Assembly, in spite of the Lord-Commissioner, should conclude contrary to these Instructions, then he to protest against their Proceedings, and not to ratify them in Parliament.

The King also writ to the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*, discharging him, and the other Bishops, from appearing at the General-Assembly; but directing them to send their Protestation against the Acts of the said Assembly and Parliament, to the Lord-Commissioner, to be by him transmitted to his Majesty, who order'd them to remain in *England*, where he would take Care of, and provide for them. In Obedience to the King's Commands, the Bishops of *Scotland* presented their Declination to the Lord-Commissioner, wherein they protested for themselves, and for the Church of
Scotland

Scotland, That the said Assembly should be held and reputed *null* in Law, as consisting partly of Laical Persons, who had no Office in the Church of God, and partly of Schismatical and perjurd Ministers, &c. Sign'd, *St. Andrews, Da. Edinburgh, Jo. Rossen, Tho. Galloway, Wal. Brechinen, Ja. Lismoren, Ad. Aberdeen.*

The General-Assembly sat, as had been agreed on, in *August*, at *Edinburgh*. The principal Matters transacted there, were, 1. Mr. *George Graham*, Bishop of *Orkney* and the Isles, his Abjuration of Episcopacy. 2. An Act containing the Causes and Remedies of the by-gone Evils of the Kirk. The Causes of those Evils, they say, were the Service-Book, containing divers Popish Errors and Ceremonies, and the Seeds of manifold gross Superstitions and Idolatry; the Book of Canons, a Book of Consecration and Ordination; the High Commission; the Articles of *Perth*; the Observation of Festivals, Kneeling at the Communion, Confirmation, &c. Episcopacy; the Civil Places and Power of Kirk-Men; the keeping and authorizing corrupt Assemblies at *Linlithgow, Aberdeen, St. Andrews, Perth*; the Want of lawful and free General-Assemblies. 3. An Act for keeping the Lord's Day; the Supplication of the Assembly against a Book call'd, *The large Declaration*, being the King's Declaration, shewing all their wicked Practices. 4. The Supplication of the Assembly to the Lord-Commissioner, and the Lords of the Secret Council, desiring them to enjoin, by Act of Council, that the Confession of Faith, and Cove-

Covenant, should be subscrib'd by all his Majesty's Subjects, of what Rank and Quality soever.

Next, we proceed to the Parliament, which met the same Month of *August*, at the Time appointed, where the Covenanters deny'd his Majesty the most essential and known Prerogatives of the Crown, as, that no Coin should be meddled with, but by Advice of Parliament; that no Stranger should be admitted to command in any of his Majesty's Towns, Cities, or Castles, but by Advice of Parliament; that no Honour should be given by the King in *Scotland* to any Stranger, but to such as had a Competency of Land there; that no Lieutenancy or Justiciary should be granted by the King to any, but for a limited Time; lastly, they protested against the Precedency of the Lord-Treasurer and Lord Privy-Seal, for which there was no Act of Parliament. Next, they attempted to alter the Constitution of the Parliament, and Frame of Government, by an Act importing, that nothing done, or to be done in Parliament, should be valid, except the Form of electing the Lords of the Articles, before observ'd, were alter'd, contrary to former Parliaments, and the Power of the Articles, which had been observ'd ever since King *David Bruce*, being above 300 Years. They urg'd to confound the *Third Estate* in Parliament, being that of the Bishops, formerly call'd, *First Estate*, which King *James* the VIth, and all his Predecessors, before and since the Reformation, had been careful to preserve. Instead of passing an Act of Oblivion,

vion, they justify'd themselves, and all their former Proceedings, and urg'd an Act of Justification to be recorded in Parliament. And whereas, by their Articles of Pacification, they were to restore to the Subject Liberty, Lands, Goods, &c. they never intended to restore the Bishops and Ministers, and urg'd, that all *Scots*, Assistant to the King, should be made equal, if not more liable to the defraying of their pretended Charge in their late Expedition; so that in this Point, the King was not only to justify the Rebellion of his Subjects, but to give his Consent to pay their Wages.

His Majesty being inform'd of these Extravagancies, commanded his Commissioner, the Earl of *Traquaire*, to prorogue the Parliament 'till the 14th of *November* following, which was done accordingly; and he had Instructions from the King, that if they should presume to sit after being prorogu'd, he should discharge them upon Pain of High Treason; but if they did obey, his Majesty would admit such Persons to his Presence, as they should send, to represent their Desires. Against this Command they protested, calling this rebellious Act, *A Declaration of the Parliament*; and tho' they did not continue sitting, yet they appointed a Committee to expect the King's Answer.

Their Deputies, the Earl of *Dunfermling*, and the Lord *Lowdon*, coming to *Whitehall*, without any Authority from the King's Commissioner, were refus'd Audience, and commanded to return Home. Then the Covenanters sent a Petition to his Majesty for Audience,

ence, by one *Cunningham*, which was granted, and accordingly the above-mention'd Lords, together with Sir *William Douglas*, and *Berkley* of *Derreyn*, were commanded to attend the King.

In the mean Time, the Earl of *Traquaire*, the King's Commissioner, was order'd to attend his Majesty, who was justly displeas'd with him for having subscrib'd the Covenant without his Leave, and permitted the Lords of the Council to do the like. *Traquaire*, to clear himself, discover'd all the Designs of the *Scots*, and advis'd the King to invade *Scotland* in Person, there being no other Way to deal with the *Scots*. He also deliver'd to his Majesty a Letter he had intercepted, from the Covenanters to the King of *France*, desiring his Protection and Assistance; which was evident Treason by the Laws of *Scotland*; yet all this was not sufficient to clear the Earl of *Traquaire*, whom many Persons did not stick to charge with downright Treason, as did particularly the Arch-Bishop of *St. Andrews*, and the Bishops of *Ross* and *Breechen*, who subscrib'd the Charge, *sub pena Talionis*, according to the Laws of *Scotland*, if they should not make good their Allegations; but the Troubles ensuing, this Affair came to nothing.

Having such frequent Occasion to mention the Articles of *Perth*, made in the Year 1618, it will be proper, before we proceed farther, to insert them in this Place.

I. *Kneeling at the receiving the Communion, and that from the Minister's Hands, whereas it was before taken sitting, and the Bread taken by themselves*

selves out of a Bason, and the Cup from one another, as if they were drinking in a Tavern; and the Beadle filling up the Cup, as it was empty'd, out of a Flagon, which he fill'd in the Belfrey, as it was spent.

II. Private Communion to sick Persons, that were not able to come to Church, to be given with three or four Communicants besides.

III. Private Baptism, in Case of Necessity, that the Child be so sick, or weak, that it cannot be carry'd to the Church without imminent Danger of Death; and to declare it to the Congregation the next Sunday after.

IV. Confirmation of Children, after the primitive Way, which was, the bringing of them at eight, nine, or ten Years of Age, to the Bishop of the Diocese, to give him Account of their Christian Faith, and receive his Encouragement, Commendation, and Benediction, to make them continue careful in it; and if any were not well instructed in their Faith, the Bishop sent them back without Blessing, and with Rebuke, to be better instructed.

V. Festival-Days, only five to be kept, viz. the Days of our Saviour's Birth, Passion, Resurrection, Ascension, and the Descent of the Holy Ghost.

Tho' the Scots had at this Time their Commissioners at Court, yet were they secretly preparing for another open Rebellion, which the King had Information of, and that they were providing Arms and Ammunition Abroad. Hereupon the King also resolv'd to raise an Army, and on the 14th of February 16 $\frac{3}{4}$ $\frac{2}{5}$, appointed *Algernoon, Earl of Northumberland*, General, and afterwards *Thomas Lord Viscount Wentworth*, Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, Lieu-

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tenant-General. It had happen'd in *November* before, that a great part of the Wall of the Castle of *Edinburgh* fell to the Ground, with all the Cannon that was on it. The King having given Orders to the Lord *Efrick*, Colonel *Ruthen*, and the Governor of the Castle, to repair that Breach, the Covenanters would not permit any Materials to be carry'd for that Work. This so incens'd the King, that he resolv'd to do himself Justice by Force; but with whom to advise about so important an Affair, was not easy to resolve, all his former Councils having been betray'd to the *Scots*. For this Purpose a Cabinet-Council was appointed, and the Lords *Pembroke*, *Salisbury*, *Holland*, &c. excluded, as of known Falshood; but the Marquess of *Hamilton*, who was no better than they, admitted. The King being in Want of Money, these Lord first subscrib'd to contribute, then the Council follow'd their Example, and many other Lords did the same.

The *Scotch* Commissioners at *Whitehall* were now so insolent as to refuse to treat with any Persons deputed by his Majesty, and would only be heard by the King himself, who condescended to it. The Lord *Lowdon* made a long Speech, stuff'd with much Shew of Submission and Protestations of Loyalty, but, at the same Time, justifying all that had been done by the Covenanters, and requiring the passing of all those monstrous Acts made in the Parliament. The King asking those Persons, thereupon, whether they had any Power or Commission from their Parliament, to make such

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Proposals, or treat; it appear'd they had none, and yet his Majesty, to prevent the Clamours that might be occasion'd by dismissing them, condescended to hear what they had to offer, and accordingly the Instructions they had from a few *Scotch* Lords, were read, and by the unanimous Consent of the Council, it was resolv'd, that the Petitioners had no Power to give his Majesty Satisfaction, but only to endeavour to justify their former Proceedings. Hereupon the King publish'd a Declaration, shewing, that whereas his Majesty had, to prevent the Effusion of Blood, condescended to a Pacification, when the *Scots* where actually in Rebellion, they had made no other Return, but Ingratitude and Insolence against his Government, publishing several scandalous Libels to justify their own Proceedings, and to cast the Odium of those Disorders on his Majesty. Then the Declaration goes on mentioning all the Proceedings of the Pacification at *Berwick*, as they have been above inserted in their Place; and how all the Articles agreed on, had been infring'd by those Rebels, by a Protestation against the King's Declaration, read in their Army; by a scandalous Paper spread abroad by the Title of, *Some Conditions of his Majesty's Treaty with his Subjects of Scotland*; by not disbanding their Forces, according to Promise; by not restoring the Forts, Castles, &c. by continuing their unlawful Tables, Meetings, and Consultations; by not permitting new Fortifications to be demolish'd; by not restoring such Subjects to their Rights, as had been wrongfully taken

from them; by pressing the People to subscribe to the Acts of the illegal Assembly at *Glasgow*; by anticipating the Voices in the new legal Assembly conven'd at *Edinburgh*; by calling all such as adher'd to the King, Traytors to God and their Country; and by protesting, that none ought to appear at the Session of the College of Justice; and that all Acts, Decrees, and Sentences pass'd therein, should be void and null. Next, his Majesty demonstrates the Insolency of the Parliament, in the Demands above mention'd, relating to the Coin, entrusting of Strangers, bestowing of Honours, disposing of Commissions of Justiciary and Precedence, which are all the undoubted Prerogative of the Crown. Then follows their not submitting to the Prorogation of the Parliament, by the Lord-Commissioner, upon his Majesty's special Command, without an unmannerly and rebellious Protestation, and appointing several Persons to attend at *Edinburgh* his Majesty's Answer to their Remonstrance. After this, the King repeats all that has been already said of the Proceedings of the Lords *Dunfermling* and *Lowdon*; and adds, that since the proroguing of the Parliament they have rais'd Forces in great Numbers, made Provision of Artillery, Ammunition, and Arms, laid up in Magazines, to be us'd against their Sovereign; laid Taxes and Impositions on the People; publish'd several false, scandalous, and seditious Papers; refus'd the Lord *Estrick*, Governor of the Castle of *Edinburgh* Materials to repair the Works fallen down there; committed Outrages and Violences up

on such as came out of the said Castle to buy Provisions; rais'd Works against the said Castle, to block it up; imprison'd the Lord *Southesk*, and others, for their Fidelity to his Majesty; and endeavour'd to settle Intelligence beyond the Seas, to bring a foreign Power into the Kingdom, as his Majesty made appear by a Letter under their own Hands to the King of *France*, superscrib'd *Au Roy*, to the King, which in *France* is always understood from the Subjects to their natural King. The Letter in *French* was as follows:

S I R E,

Vostre Majeste estant l'Asyle & Sanctuaire des Princes & Estats affligez, nous avons trouvez necessaire d'envoyer ce Gentilhomme le Sieur de Colvil, pour représenter a V. M. la candeur & naïvete tant de nos Actions & Procedures, que de nos Intentions, lesquelles nous desirons estre gravees & escrites a tout l'Univers avec un Ray du Soleil, aussi bien qu'a V. M.. Nous vous Supplions donc que tres humblement, Sire, de luy adjouster Foy & Creance & a tout ce qu'il dira de nostre part, touchant nous & nos Affairs, estant tres assurés, Sire, d'un Assistance egale a Vostre Clemence accoustumee cydevant, & si souvent monstree a cette Nation, la quelle ne cederà la Gloire a autre quelconque d'estre eternellement,

Sire, de V. M.

Les tres humbles, & tres obeysants,
& tres affectiones Serviteurs,

Rethes.

Montrose.

Leslie.

Mar.

Mongomery.

Loudoun.

Forrester.

In

In English thus.

S I R,

YOur Majesty being the Refuge and Sanctuary of afflicted Princes and States, we have found it necessary to send this Gentleman, Mr. Colvil, to represent unto your Majesty the Candor and Ingenuity, as well of our Actions and Proceedings, as of our Intentions, which we desire to be engrav'd and written to the whole World, with a Beam of the Sun, as well as to your Majesty. We therefore most humbly beseech you, Sir, to give Faith and Credit to him, and to all that he shall say on our Part, touching us and our Affairs; being most assur'd, Sir, of an Assistance equal to your wonted Clemency heretofore, and so often shew'd to this Nation, which will not yield the Glory to any other whatsoever, of being eternally,

Sir,

Your Majesty's most humble

Most obedient, and

Most affectionate Servants,

Roths,	Montross,	Lefly,	Mar,
	Mongomery,		
	Loudoun,	Forrester,	

These Insolencies, and open Acts of Rebellion, his Majesty declar'd did enforce him to have Recourse to Arms; at the same Time protesting, that he never did, nor ever would hinder them from enjoying their Religion and Liberties, according to the Ecclesiastical and
Civil

Civil Laws of that Kingdom. Thus far his Majesty's Declaration.

The *Scotch* Covenanters were now busy soliciting several Great Men in *England* to assist them, as they afterwards did, particularly the Earl of *Rothes* writ to the Earl of *Pembroke*, who return'd him an Answer contrary to his subsequent Actions; for he here told him, *That he thought no other Fence proper for the Scots, but Prayers and Petitions; that he never found Loyalty in their Covenant*, and much more to the same Purpose; yet was he not then true to the King, and soon after ran deep into the Rebellion.

All Things now tended to open War; the Scots, as has been said, buying up Arms in *Germany*, so that it was high Time for the King to provide for his own Safety, and accordingly Commissions were given out for the Generals, for other Officers of Horse and Foot, and for the Train of Artillery.

We are now come to the Beginning of the second War with *Scotland*, which soon after involv'd *England*, and drew on all the following Calamities, and most villainous Proceedings, to the most execrable solemn Murder of the King himself; the Original whereof may be justly deduc'd from the Advancement of that Form of Government invented by *John Calvin*, at *Geneva*, of which a few Words will not be amiss in this Place.

It was just a Century before the second *Scotch* Rebellion, in the Year 1640, that *Calvin* first repair'd to *Geneva*, where the Bishop being expell'd, it was necessary to establish some other Government in lieu of his. *Calvin* ha-
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ving insinuated himself into the Esteem of those Peope, was entrusted to model that Government. He finding the Citizens inclin'd to Democracy in the Civil, concluded that the Ecclesiastical State ought to be the same, and accordingly form'd a Consistory of Elders, a considerable Part whereof were Lay-men, and those to manage all Church-Affairs. Nor was he content to have this thought a wise Institution, but he would have it call'd *Divine*, and accordingly Scripture was miserably wrested to make it so. This Invention was well receiv'd in *France* and the *Low-Countries*; and having prevail'd so far, the next Project was, to have it settled in *Great Britain*; to which Effect, *Beza* writ a fawning Letter to Queen *Elizabeth*, representing this *Geneva*-Platform as the only Circumstance wanting to perfect the *English* Reformation. The Queen could not be induc'd to abolish so ancient an Institution as Episcopacy, for such an upstart Notion as Presbytery, and therefore took no Notice of *Beza*. This happen'd about the Year 1560. Soon after, not only the Queen, but the whole Parliament, some Members whereof began to incline towards the puritanical Sect, were summon'd by Libels, call'd, *An Admonition to the Parliament, and a Defence of the Admonition, to the Abolition of Episcopacy as Anti-christian*. However, both the Queen and Parliament continu'd stedfast, and could not be induc'd to admit of that new fangled Church-Government. In *Scotland* that Novelty prosper'd better, for the Earl of *Murray*, with his Accomplices,

Knox,

Knox, Buchanman, and others, in their first Reformation, about the Year 1560, gave such a Blow to Episcopacy, as made it ever after unsteady ; tho' it held out against them about a Score of Years, yet so as they still gain'd Ground upon it. At length, in 1580, an Assembly at *Dundee* order'd all Bishops, upon Pain of Excommunication, to resign up their Offices, and about three Years after, prevail'd with the Parliament, the King being then in his Minority, to annex their Temporalities to the Crown. This was not done in *Scotland* without Instigation from *England*, and from some of the prime Nobility, egg'd on by some Ministers, who began then to be pragmatistical and busy ; so that, to preserve the Discipline of the Church of *England*, Arch-Bishop *Whitgift*, by Command of the Queen, added those three eminent Articles to the Canons, which all who desir'd to be admitted into holy Orders, were enjoin'd to subscribe, viz. 1. *The acknowledging of the Queen's Supremacy.* 2. *Professing Conformity to the Book of Common-Prayer, and Approbation of the Book of Ordaining of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.* 3. *Assenting to the thirty nine Articles of the Church of England.* Yet was not the Hierarchy so entirely abolish'd in *Scotland*, but that it still retain'd some Life, by the Parliament's ratifying the Clergy as the third Estate, in the Year 1584 ; but the other Party being resolv'd never to desist 'till they had gain'd their Point, grew so outrageous, as that at last they forc'd that Government, in the Year 1592, to ratify their Discipline. Thus did Episcopacy and Presbytery struggle,

and take their Turns in Government for about thirty Years; but in 1598, King *James* being sensible that Queen *Elizabeth* began to decline, and hoping to be able to exert his Power above those Incendiaries who had so long kept him in Awe, took up a Resolution, and caus'd the Prelates to be restor'd to their ancient Vote in Parliament. Accordingly he publish'd his Book call'd *Basilicon Doron*, wherein he express'd no good Will to the Consistorian Sect. And tho', in the Year 1603, upon his first Accession to the Crown of *England*, he was here receiv'd with a Petition pretended to come from a thousand Ministers, to gain the more Reputation, yet he made slight of them; and in *Scotland*, by several Acts of Parliament, rescinded what had been formerly introduc'd to the Prejudice of Episcopacy, so that from 1589, 'till the Time we are now speaking of, under his Son King *Charles* the first, the *Presbyterians* durst never appear in Opposition of it. This may be of Use for the better understanding of the Original of this Rebellion, wholly grounded upon the Spirit of Presbytery, and carry'd on by it, almost to the Ruin of both Nations. Let us now proceed to what ensu'd.

The *Scots*, by the late Pacification, and the Encouragement they receiv'd from discontented and seditious Persons in *England*, were grown exorbitant, and insufferable in their Demands. They found Fault with the very Constitution of their Parliament; quarrell'd at the Manner of preparing of Bills to be pass'd into Laws, which was by a select Number of Bishops, Nobles, and Commons; would not be satisfy'd without annulling

nulling the third Estate in Parliament, being that of the Bishops, formerly call'd the first Estate, &c. Hereupon his Majesty, by the Advice of his Council, rais'd a second Army against the rebellious Scots, appointing each County to furnish a certain Number of Men, and all of them to rendezvous at *Newcastle*, in *May 1640*. In the mean Time, the *English* Parliament met at *Westminster*, on the 13th of *April 1640*; and tho' his Majesty laid before them all the Insolencies and Treasons of the Scots, and demanded Supplies for the Maintenance of the Forces rais'd to reduce those rebellious People; instead of assisting the King in that Necessity, the Parliament fell immediately to ripping up of pretended Grievances, without any Regard to, or Mention of his Majesty's Wants. Nay, so far were they from any Compliance, that they had resolv'd to pass a Vote against the War with the Scots. His Majesty being inform'd of their Design that very Morning when the Vote was to have been pass'd, dissolv'd the Parliament, which was on the 5th of *May*. Soon after, his Majesty set forth a Declaration of the Causes which had mov'd him to dissolve the Parliament.

The same Spirit now prevail'd in *England*, as had done so long in *Scotland*; Episcopacy began to be cry'd down, and much more belonging to the Church of *England*, was call'd by the Name of Popery, and particularly *Prynne*, *Barton*, and *Bastwick*, had suffer'd for their scandalous Libels; but their Punishment abated nothing of the Outrageousness of the Fanatics, and their Leaders.

The King had now, notwithstanding all the Difficulties he labour'd under, again rais'd a very fine Army against the *Scots*; who having broke through all their former Engagements, and being encourag'd and supported by a perverse Party in *England*, had already appear'd in Arms, yet still, according to their usual Cant, giving out that they had rais'd those Forces only in order to deliver a Petition to the King; a good Way of preferring Petitions on the Points of Swords, or at the Muzzles of Muskets and Cannon!

The *Scots* were now come to pass the River *Tine*; to obstruct which, the Lord *Conway* took Post on the opposite Side of that River, with 3000 Foot, and 1000 Horse. *Lesly*, the *Scotch* General, to carry on the Hypocrisy, sent to him to desire Leave to pass towards his Majesty with the humble Petition and Request of his Majesty's good Subjects of his native Kingdom of *Scotland*. The Lord *Conway* answer'd, That he would willingly permit him to pass with a few to that Intent. Whereupon *Lesly* commanded 300 Horse to pass the River, who were repuls'd by the *English* Foot, firing on them from the Breast-works on the other Side. *Lesly* having before planted his Cannon under the Covert of some Bushes, let fly among the *English*, who, not trusting to their Breast-work, quitted it, and fled. The *Scotch* Horse then again advanc'd, and were at first beaten back by Commissary-General *Wilmot*; but the *English* Horse being over-power'd by the Number of *Scots* still passing, were forc'd to retire in Disorder, about 200 of them having

ving been slain and taken Prisoners. The Earl of *Conway* carry'd the News of his Defeat to the King himself, to palliate that Affair, yet was he generally blam'd for ill Conduct, in having cast up no better Works against the Enemy, nor provided any Cannon; but many imputed it to Treachery, and the Earl of *Strafford* did not spare to push it home. Soon after, Sir *Jacob Ashley*, Governor of *Newcastle*, not thinking the Town tenable, abandon'd it, casting the Cannon into the River.

After the Lord *Conway's* Defeat, the Earl of *Strafford* took upon him the Command of the Army, the Earl of *Northumberland*, who was General, being indispos'd. The Army lying in *Northumberland*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, the disaffected Party in those Counties, petition'd the King against it, complaining of the Burden, as if it had been possible for his Majesty to oppose a Rebel-Army, without being burdensome to the Place where his lay; but their great Grievance was, to see a Power able to oppose their Brethren the *Scots*.

Tho' his Majesty had a good Army, yet he labour'd under many Difficulties, many of his *English* Subjects being as false as the *Scots*, and the Difficulty of raising Money being very great, which oblig'd the King to borrow 40000*l.* of the *Spanish* Merchants, and afterwards repaid it, tho' in much Want himself. The Parliament, as has been seen, had refus'd to grant any Supplies, as favouring themselves the Rebellion of their Neighbour-Nation,

on, and therefore that Party us'd all possible Means to debauch the Soldiers, and so far prevail'd, as to cause them to mutiny in several Places, as *Devonshire*, *Warwickshire*, and other Counties. The Tumults also grew great in the City of *London*, and elsewhere, the *Presbyterians* crying down every Thing they dislik'd in the Church of *England*, under the Title of Popery. But let us return to the *Scots*.

Their Army had enter'd *England*, under the Command of General *Lesly*; the Earl of *Kalendar* was Lieutenant-General, *Alexander Hamilton* Major-General, and the Earl of *Montrose*, who afterwards turn'd loyal, led the Van; and thus they pass'd the *Tweed* at *Cold Stream*, whence they spent a Week, advancing, by easy Marches, to *Newburn*, a small Village belonging to the Earl of *Northumberland*, on the *Tine*, where they defeated the Lord *Conway*, as has been said above. The *Scots* having gain'd that Advantage, thought fit to discover, that they were not without Encouragement for what they did, in *England*, and therefore publish'd their pretended Reasons for their Rebellion, and for invading *England*, declaring their Intentions to their Brethren of this Kingdom. The Paper they set forth, was call'd, *Six Considerations of the Lawfulness of their Expedition into England*, manifested. The Heads of those Considerations were as follows.

I. ' That Necessity justifies Actions otherwise unwarrantable; so that they must either seek Peace in *England*, or lye under an heavy Burden which they were not able to bear.

II. ' That

II. ' That their Expedition was defensive,
' and therefore the more justifiable; to make
' good which, they make many subtle Insinu-
' ations, besides urging a great Number of no-
' torious Falshoods.

III. ' They prophanely pretended to becall'd
' to their Rebellion, which they stil'd by the
' Name of an Expedition, by Divine Provi-
' dence, and that for the Glory of God, the
' Good of the Church, the Advancement of
' the Gospel, and their own Peace; and then
' they proceeded, hypocritically begging Light
' and Direction from Heaven, with much
' more such abominable Cant, apply'd to so
' wicked an Undertaking.

IV. ' They wickedly insinuated a Lawfulness
' in their Expedition, as they again term'd it,
' which, they said, was not against the King-
' dom of *England*, but the *Canterburian Faction*
' of Papists, Atheists, Arminians, Prelates,
' the Misleaders of the King's Majesty, and the
' common Enemies of both Kingdoms. Such
' were the Titles they bestow'd on all that
' adher'd to the Church of *England*, and that
' continu'd stedfast in their Loyalty to the
' King. Then they proceeded, being before
' well assur'd of their Party in *England*, to
' declare, they perswaded themselves, that
' their Brethren and Neighbours in *England*,
' would never be so ill advis'd, as to act against
' them in Defence of their Enemies among
' them; and to this they adedd many Texts of
' Scripture, lewdly wrested to serve their vile
' Purposes.

V. ' They

V. ' They perjuriously said, they had attested the Searcher of Hearts, that they did not come to execute any disloyal Act against his Majesty, nor to seek any Revenge upon their Adversaries in *England*; nor to enrich themselves; they brought God to Witness, that they aim'd altogether at the Glory of God, the Peace of both Nations, and the Honour of the King, in suppressing and punishing of those who were Troublers of *Israel*, Firebrands of Hell, *Korahs*, *Baalams*, *Doegs*, *Rabshakahs*, *Hamans*, *Tobiabs*, and *Sanballats* of those Times. How little Regard had those Wretches to so many false Oaths, to such horrid blasphemous calling upon God to Witness to their Frauds, to reviling of all that preserv'd any Sense of Duty to their Sovereign, and fixing the most infamous of Scripture-Names upon all such as endeavour'd to preserve some Decency in the Service of the Almighty, and could not join with them in overturning all that was holy, to come at that they call'd a thorough Reformation!

VI. ' They proceeded in, and concluded with their impious Cant thus; If the Lord shall bless us in this our Expedition, and our Intentions shall not be cross'd by our own Sins and Miscarriages, or by the Opposition of the *English*, the Fruits shall be sweet, and the Effects comfortable to both Nations, to the Posterity, and to the reform'd Kirks abroad; *Scotland* shall be reform'd, as at the Beginning; the Reformation of *England*, long pray'd and pleaded for by the Godly, thereby shall be according to their Wishes and Desires,

' Desires, perfected in Doctrine, Worship, and
 ' Discipline. Papists, Prelates, and all the
 ' Members of the Anti-christian Hierarchy,
 ' with their Idolatry, Superstition, and Human
 ' Inventions, shall pack from hence; the
 ' Names of *Sects* and *Separatists* shall no more
 ' be mention'd, and the Lord shall be one,
 ' and his Name one throughout the whole
 ' Island, which shall be Glory to God, Ho-
 ' nour to the King, Joy to the Kingdoms,
 ' Comfort to the Posterity, Example to other
 ' Christian *Kirks*, and Confusion to the incor-
 ' rigible Enemies.' Let any Man judge whe-
 ' ther more Hypocrisy, and impious Abuse of all
 ' that is sacred, could be pack'd together. Re-
 ' bellion the Way to advance the King's Ho-
 ' nour, and to promote the Glory of God! and
 ' the Church to be rais'd and establish'd by de-
 ' stroying its Foundation! Religion to improve
 ' by destroying all Order, and the Kingdom to
 ' be united by subverting the Government both
 ' in Church and State !

The King now labour'd under all imagina-
 ble Discouragements; for having summon'd
 the Gentry of the County of *Tork*, and decla-
 ring to them his Resolution to lead them in
 Person to the Frontiers of that County, seve-
 ral of those Gentry deliver'd to him a Peti-
 tion, alledging their Poverty, and that they
 were not able to stir, unless his Majesty
 would advance them fourteen Days Pay, when
 they knew he had not Money to pay his
 Troops, and that the *Scots* were upon the Point
 of entering their County, and setting Part

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of

of the Bishoprick of *Durham* under Contribution, having soon after possess'd themselves of *Newcastle*. Nor did many of the Peers shew themselves better affected, being also engag'd with the *Scots*, as afterwards appear'd; for they also join'd in a Petition to the King to summon a Parliament, which they well knew would espouse the *Scotch* Rebellion. Nor would the City of *London* be outdone by the Peers in that seditious Practice, but also sent their Petition for the same Purpose to the King. The Lords who sign'd the aforesaid Petition, were, *Bedford*, *Essex*, *Hertford*, *Warwick*, *Bristol*, *Mulgrave*, *Say and Seal*, *Howard*, *Bolynbroke*, *Mandevile*, *Brook*, and *Paget*, whose future Behaviour sufficiently demonstrated what their Intentions were at this Time.

Before the Delivery of these Petitions, his Majesty had issu'd out his Writs for summoning a great Council of the Peers to sit at *York* on the 24th of *September* following, and therefore his Majesty, by way of Answer to their Petition, commanded them to offer what they had to propose to the aforesaid Council, for his Majesty's Honour, and the Safety of the Kingdom. Now, to shew that the Designs of these Petitioners, and of the *Scots*, who had actually invaded the Kingdom, were the same, there came also a Petition from the *Scotch* Army, directed to the Earl of *Lanerick*, Secretary of State for *Scotland*, which was deliver'd to his Majesty, and answer'd by him, and were both as follows.

To the King's most excellent Majesty.

The humble Petition of the Commissioners of your late Parliament, and others of your Majesty's most loyal Subjects of the Kingdom of Scotland, humbly sheweth,

‘ **T**hat whereas, through many Sufferings
 ‘ in this Time past, extreme Necessity
 ‘ has constrain’d us, for our Reliefs, and ob-
 ‘ taining our humble and just Desires to come
 ‘ into *England*, where, according to our In-
 ‘ tentions formerly deliver’d, we have, in all
 ‘ our Convoy, liv’d upon our own Means, Vi-
 ‘ ctuals, and Goods brought along with us, and
 ‘ neither troubling the Peace of the Kingdom
 ‘ of *England*, nor hurting any of your Maje-
 ‘ sty’s Subjects, of whatsoever Quality, in
 ‘ their Persons or Goods, having carry’d our
 ‘ selves in a most peaceable Manner, ’till we
 ‘ were press’d, by Strength of Arms, to put
 ‘ such Forces out of the Way, as did, without
 ‘ our Deservings, and, as some of them at the
 ‘ Point of Death have confess’d, against their
 ‘ own Consciences, oppos’d our peaceable Pas-
 ‘ sage at *Newburn* upon *Tine*, and have brought
 ‘ their own Blood upon their own Heads, a-
 ‘ gainst our Purposes and Desires, express’d by
 ‘ Letters sent to them at *Newcastle*. For pre-
 ‘ venting of the like, or greater Inconveni-
 ‘ encies, and that, without farther Opposition,
 ‘ we may come to your Majesty’s Presence,
 ‘ for obtaining from your Majesty’s Justice
 ‘ and Goodness, full Satisfaction to our just De-
 ‘ mands,

‘mands, we your Majesty’s most humble
 ‘and loyal Subjects, do persist in that most
 ‘humble and submissive Way of Petitioning,
 ‘which we have kept from the Beginning,
 ‘and from the which, no Provocation of your
 ‘Majesty’s Enemies and ours, no Adversity
 ‘we have hitherto sustain’d, no prosperous
 ‘Success that can befall us, shall be able to
 ‘divert our Minds; most humbly intreating,
 ‘that your Majesty would, in the Depth of
 ‘your Royal Wisdom, consider at least our
 ‘pressing Grievances, and provide for the Re-
 ‘pair of our Wrongs and Losses, and with
 ‘the Advice of the States of the Kingdom of
 ‘*England*, convented by Parliament, settle a
 ‘firm and durable Peace, against all Invasi-
 ‘ons by Sea and Land.

‘That we may, with Chearfulness of Heart,
 ‘pay unto your Majesty, as our native King,
 ‘all Duty and Obedience that can be expected
 ‘from loyal Subjects; and that against the
 ‘many and great Evils, which at this Time
 ‘threaten both Kingdoms, whereat all your
 ‘Majesty’s good, loyal, and loving Subjects
 ‘tremble to think, and which we unanimo-
 ‘usly beseech God Almighty to avert; that
 ‘your Majesty’s Throne may be establish’d in
 ‘the midst of us, in Religion and Righteous-
 ‘ness.

His Majesty's Answer.

At the Court at York, September 5, 1640.

' HIS Majesty has seen and consider'd this
 ' within-written Petition, and is gra-
 ' ciously pleas'd to return this Answer by me;
 ' That he finds it in such general Terms, that
 ' 'till you expresse the Particulars of your De-
 ' sires, his Majesty can give no direct Answer
 ' thereunto; wherefore his Majesty requireth,
 ' that you would set down the Particulars of
 ' your Demands with Expedition, he having
 ' been always ready to redress the Grievances
 ' of his People. And for the mature Delibe-
 ' ration of the weighty Affairs, his Majesty has
 ' already given out Summons for the meeting
 ' of the Peers of this Kingdom in the City
 ' of *York*, the 24th Day of this Month, that,
 ' with the Advice of his Peers, you may re-
 ' ceive such Answer to your Petition, as shall
 ' most tend to his Honour, and the Peace and
 ' Welfare of his Kingdoms. And, in the mean
 ' Time, if Peace be that you so much Desire,
 ' as you pretend, he expects, and by this his
 ' Majesty commands, that you advance no
 ' farther with your Army into these Parts,
 ' which is the only Means that is left, for the
 ' present, to preserve Peace between the two
 ' Nations, and to bring these unhappy Divi-
 ' sions into a Reformation, which none is more
 ' desirous of than his most sacred Majesty.

*Lanerick.**At*

At this Time his Majesty's Subjects of the County of *Northumberland*, lay under grievous Oppression, being assess'd by the *Scots* at 300 *l.* a Day, upon Pain of Plundering; whilst those sanctify'd People permitted their Soldiers to rifle Houses, break up Shops, and commit what other Insolencies they pleas'd; but particularly, the Bishop of *Durham*, the Dean of that Church, and all the Episcopal Clergy's Lands, being dedicated, according to the Notion of those thorough Reformers, to superstitious Uses, were seiz'd for the *Scotch* Army; an Action very acceptable to, and much applauded by the *English Presbyterians*, who now began openly to join with the *Scots*. Thus every Thing in *England* went on according to their Wishes; but an unlucky Accident befel them in *Scotland*, where the Earl of *Haddington*, a Covenanter, who commanded as Major-General in *Lothian*, having recover'd some Pieces of Cannon, taken by the *English* Garrison of *Berwick*, which had been left as needless by *Lesly*, at *Duns*; and having convey'd them to *Dunglass*, was the next Day kill'd, with twenty more Knights and Gentlemen, in the midst of his Court, by the Stones which flew from a Vault near adjoining, which, it seems, then casually blew up with the Ammunition in it.

The Earl of *Strafford* was very earnest, and several times advis'd the King to put an End to those Commotions by a Battle, which, in all Likelihood, would have prevented the ensuing Calamities; but the King was unwilling to run that Hazard, not knowing how to recruit,
if

if he should happen to be worsted, unless he should condescend as much or more to his *English* Subjects, in the ensuing Parliament, which was resolv'd to be conven'd, by the Advice of the Peers, at *Tork*. His Majesty ask'd their Advice, upon the Answer he should return to the extravagant Demands of the Rebels; as also 'how he might maintain his Army, 'till Supplies might be granted by the Parliament. In order to their giving their Advice, the Earl of *Traquaire* was commanded to acquaint those Peers with the Demands made by the Earl of *Loudon*, and to lay before them the Petition of the *Scots* above-mention'd. The Bishop of *Durham* likewise presented the Petitions of the County-Palatine of *Durham*, complaining of their Oppression from the *Scots*.

The Debates upon those Affairs, produc'd a Treaty with the *Scots* at *Rippon*. The *English* Commissioners were eight Earls, viz. *Bedford*, *Hertford*, *Essex*, *Salisbury*, *Warwick*, *Bristol*, *Holland*, and *Berkshire*; and eight Lords, viz. *Mandevile*, *Wharton*, *Paget*, *Brook*, *Pawlet*, *Howard*, *Savile*, and *Dusmore*; to whom were added, for Information and Assistance, the Earls of *Traquaire*, *Morton*, and *Lanerick*, Secretary *Vane*, Sir *Lewis Steward*, and Sir *John Burrough*. Persons notably chosen, scarce any of them having afterwards fail'd of appearing deep in the Rebellion! The Treaty should have been at *Tork*, but the *Scots* objected against that Place, because the Earl of *Strafford* was there, as well knowing his Fidelity to the King, and consequently looking upon him as their Enemy; and

and therefore *Rippon* was agreed on, where the Commissioners on both Sides met. The *Scots* knowing whom they had to deal with, did not stick to insist upon it as a Preliminary, that they would know how their Army was to be maintain'd, 'till the Peace was concluded and secur'd; without which, they were not willing to consent to a Suspension of Arms. This so far provok'd the Earl of *Strafford*, that he again urg'd his Majesty to give him Leave to Fight, not questioning in the least that he should drive the Rebels back into *Scotland*; but the great Ones, who were in the Interest of the *Scots*, by their Treachery, prevail'd, and, to the Infamy of the Nation, it was agreed, that the *Scotch* Army should be maintain'd and paid by the *English* Purse. Then the Treaty proceeded, and on the 16th of *October* the following Articles were agreed upon by the Commissioners at *Rippon*.

I. That there should be a Cessation of Arms, both by Sea and Land, from that Time.

II. That all Acts of Hostility should cease.

III. That both Parties should peaceably return whatsoever they possess'd at the Time of the Cessation.

IV. That all such Persons who liv'd in any of his Majesty's Forts beyond the River *Tees*, should not exempt their Lands which lay within the County of *Northumberland*, and the Bishoprick of *Durham*, from such Contributions as should be laid upon them, for the Payment of the 850 *l.* per Day.

V. That

V. That none of all the King's Forces, upon the other Side of the *Tees*, should give any Impediment to such Contributions as were already allow'd for the Competency of the *Scotish* Army, and should fetch no Victuals nor Forage out of their Bounds, except that which the Inhabitants and Owners thereof should bring voluntarily unto them; and that any Restraints, or Detention of Victuals, Cattle, or Forage, which should be made by the *Scots* within those Bounds, for their Maintenance, should be no Breach.

VI. That no Recruit should be brought into either Army, from the Time of Cessation, and during the Treaty.

VII. That the Contribution of 850 *l.* per Day, should be rais'd only out of the Counties of *Northumberland*, *Durham*, Town of *Newcastle*, *Cumberland*, and *Westmoreland*; and that the Non-payment thereof should be no Breach of the Treaty, but the Countries and Towns left to the *Scots* Power to raise the same; but not to exceed the Sum agreed on, unless for the Charges of driving, to be set by a Prizer of the Forage.

VIII. That the River of *Tees* should be the Boundary of both Armies, excepting always the Town and Castle of *Stockton*, and the Village of *Eggscliffe*; and the Countries of *Northumberland* and *Bishoprick*, to be the Limits within which the *Scotch* Army was to reside, having Liberty for them to send such Convoys as should be necessary for the gathering only of the Contribution, which should be unpaid by the Counties of *Northumberland* and *Cumberland*.

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IX. That

IX. That if any Person committed any private Insolence, it should be no Breach of the Treaty, if upon Complaint made by either Party, Reparation and Punishment were granted.

X. If Victuals should be desir'd upon the Price to be agreed on, and ready Money offer'd for the same, and refus'd, it should be no Breach of the Cessation, to take such Victuals, paying such Price.

XI. No new Fortifications to be made, during the Cessation, against either Party.

XII. That the Subjects of both Kingdoms might, in their Trade and Commerce, freely pass too and fro, without any Stay at all; but it was particularly provided, that no Member of either Army should pass without a formal License under the Hand of the General, or of him that commanded in Chief.

This Treaty of *Rippon* prov'd fatal to the Earl of *Strafford*; for the *Scots* never forgave the Advice he had given against them, and their Friends in *England* never gave over 'till they had destroy'd him. At this Time also the Marquess of *Montrose* is said to have first inclin'd to Loyalty. He had been at first debauch'd from it by the Marquess of *Hamilton* insinuating to him, that the King design'd to reduce *Scotland* to a Province; and, at the same Time, giving the King an ill Character of *Montrose*: But at this Treaty, the Earl began to open his Eyes, and writ to his Majesty at *Tork*, giving him Assurances of his future Fidelity. These Letters were, by *Hamilton* Agent

Agents, at Night stolen out of the King's Pocket, copy'd, and communicated to the Covenanters at *Newcastle*; who, concealing their Information, labour'd, under Hand, to render the Earl odious to the People, and thereby unserviceable to his Majesty. Mr. *Sanderson* affirms, that more private Dispatches were betray'd by those of his Majesty's Bed-chamber.

The Treaty at *Rippon*, as has been said, was only a Cessation of Arms, 'till the Parliament might meet, which was what the *Scots*, and their Party in *England*, aim'd at; and therefore the farther Treaty was adjourn'd to *London*, where the Rebels were sure of Friends, and his Majesty to be insulted. The *Scotch* Commissioners made Use of this Advantage, filling the Minds of the People with the most wicked Impressions, being feasted and carefs'd by the *Presbyterians*; and being allow'd preaching and praying, after their Fashion, at those Meetings, they contriv'd all the ensuing Tumults.

In fine, the fatal Parliament met at *Westminster* on the 3d of *November*, and instead of assisting the King, fell upon the Impeachment of the Earl of *Strafford*, upon pretended Grievances, and Church-Affairs; but the deadly Stroke was the Act, *That the King should not adjourn, prorogue, or dissolve the Parliament, without the Consent of both Houses*, which they were resolv'd he should never have. Besides, the *Scots* being requir'd, by their Party in the House of Commons, to bring in their Bill of Charges in Writing, were so modest as to de-

mand 514128*l.* 14*s.* for Charges, as above; but for the Losses of the Nobility and Gentry, &c. they farther demanded 4041000*l.* besides the 800*l.* per Day, paid them by the Northern Counties. The Parliament gave them 3000000*l.* for their Losses and Pay. Money was also given for the King's Army; and according to the Act of Parliament, both Armies were disbanded in August 1641.

By the Treaty of Pacification with *Scotland*, his Majesty was to be present at a Parliament to be held in that Kingdom, for the passing of several Acts desir'd by the *Scots*; in order to which, on the 6th of August, both Houses of the *English* Parliament adjourn'd themselves till the 20th of October following, only leaving a Committee of fifty Members to sit during the Recess.

In the mean Time his Majesty went into *Scotland*, was there entertain'd with the greatest Demonstrations of Joy and Affection imaginable, and confirm'd in Parliament the Treaty between the two Nations, all his former Concessions, and whatsoever had been acted by them in their General-Assemblies. The King also made the Marquess of *Hamilton* a Duke, and General *Lesly* Earl of *Leven*; whereupon the latter solemnly declar'd, upon his Knees, *That he would never bear Arms against his most gracious Prince*; but how he kept his Word, soon after appear'd. Notwithstanding all these Graces, whilst the King was yet in *Scotland*, a Plot was trump'd up, as if there had been a Design against the Lives of *Hamilton* and *Argyle*, and the King was maliciously report-

reported to be in it. His Majesty caus'd the Matter to be examin'd in Parliament, where the whole was prov'd to be an impudent Forgery: However, this was afterwards bandy'd about in both Nations, to bring an Odium upon the King.

His Majesty having granted all that the Scots could then demand, return'd to *England* about the End of *November*, as those People gave out, *a contented King, from a contented People*; and, to give him a greater Demonstration thereof, they caus'd an Act, then in Force, to be publish'd, *That it should be detestable, and damnable Treason, in the highest Degree that could be, for any of the Scotch Nation, conjunctly or singly, to levy Arms upon any Pretence whatsoever, without the King's Commission.*

What more wicked Hypocrisy could the World produce? They had obtain'd the utmost of their Desires, even to the impairing and lessening of the Royal Prerogative; they declar'd it should be the highest Degree of Treason, either jointly, or singly, to levy Arms against the King's Commission, and this by an Act pass'd long before the Rebellion, yet would they not allow their past Rebellion, to be call'd by that Name. What is still worse, how soon were all those fair Words forgot? How soon did they again plunge themselves in their former Treasons; or rather, how far were they from ever departing from them, all their Promises being false in the very making, as never intended to be perform'd? This their succeeding Actions soon made apparent to all the World: But that Part does
not

not belong to this Place, where it has only been undertaken to shew the Rise and Progress of the *Scotch* Rebellion, which has nevertheless been carry'd on to the seeming Conclusion thereof; for it broke out again more fatally, in Conjunction with *England*. Of which second Eruption, if this shall find sufficient Encouragement, and that shall be desir'd, as particular and short an Account may hereafter be given in the same Bulk as this; tho' that being of more Years Continuance, and so involv'd with the *English* Rebellion, that there is no discoursing of the one, without taking Notice of the other, might demand a greater Volume; yet in Regard that most of our Historians do slightly run over the Affairs of *Scotland*, to be the more particular in those of their own Nation, this distinct Account may be the more acceptable.

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